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The Gift of
Rev. Joseph H. Allen,
of Cambridge.
(H. U. 1840.)

17 April, 1877.

P2813

Bd. Jan. 1881.

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Rev. Joseph H. Allen
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THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW,

FOUNDED BY EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

EDITED BY

DAVID A. GORTON, M. D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

VOL. XXXIV. ~~MARCH, 1877~~.

NEW YORK:
DAVID A. GORTON & CO., PUBLISHERS.
1877.

P281.3

1877 Copyright 17
Entered
Rec'd Feb. 14, 1878
& Gorton & Co.
(Vol. 18-19.)

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VOL. XXXIV. No. LXVII. DECEMBER, 1876.

NEW YORK:

OFFICE, 658 BROADWAY.

GENERAL AGENTS: AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, NEW YORK.
Agent for PHILADELPHIA: JAMES K. SIMON, 29 SOUTH SIXTH STREET.
LONDON: TRUBNER & CO., 60 PATERNOSTER ROW.
PARIS: VICTOR ALEXI, 19 RUE DU MAIL.

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VOL. XXXIV.—DECEMBER, 1876.

NEW YORK:
EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.
1876.

1877, [illegible] 17.
Gift of
Rev. Joseph H. Allen,
of Cambridge.
(Mar. 1877.)
(Vol. XXXIV. No. 67, 68.)

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1876, by
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NOTE TO VOLUME XXXIV.

The friends and patrons of The National Quarterly Review will rejoice in the assurance we are able to give them that it will not go down under the great loss it has sustained in the death of its lamented editor; that, although its able and scholarly chief is no more, the work which he so auspiciously begun will continue to live to honor and perpetuate his name.

It was not unnatural that the future of the *Review* should have been an object of especial solicitude to Dr. Sears, when, as the crisis of death approached, he fully realized the solemn fact that his own work on its pages was done; and that if the *Review* was to survive him, no time must be lost in committing it to other hands. It was under circumstances thus solemn and impressive, that arrangements were initiated by him to continue the *Review*. Those arrangements have been since perfected; and it is a source of profound gratitude and satisfaction to us that his wishes in the matter have been so fully respected. There is a feeling upon us, shared, we believe, by the friend most near and dear to him—the wife of his youth—as well as the friends who loved and respected him most—that were he cognizant of the course of events which is to shape the destiny of the *Review*, he would be more than satisfied.

It may not be ill-timed nor out of place to assure our

friends that there will be no material change in the policy of the *Review*. So long as we have control of its pages it shall be our aim to make THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW an exponent of the best thought of the age on all subjects that concern the triumph of Justice and the welfare of Man. And we cordially invite to its pages whoever has an earnest thought or a noble sentiment to utter, without regard to class or sex, or distinction of religious or philosophic belief.

The *Review* went to press in the confusion incident to the sad events connected with Dr. Sears' decease, and has been rushed through in the hurry and distraction of the holidays. It is not to be unexpected, therefore, that a few things should be left undone which should have been done. We do not apologize therefor, except so far as to promise not to repeat our shortcomings in that regard; and to record our purpose to hereafter issue the *Review* during the months of its date.

NEW YORK, January 4, 1877.

THE DEATH OF THE EDITOR OF THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW is in mourning for the death of its Editor and founder, EDWARD ISIDORE SEARS, LL.D.! For several months past DR. SEARS had been ailing, and his friend and medical counsellor had repeatedly urged him to desist from labor for a few months and seek recuperation in travel and change of scene. He, however, did not see his way clear to do so, then, and decided to put off acting upon such inconvenient advice until a more convenient season. The interest of his beloved *Review* required his whole time and thought. Thus he stood at his post and continued his work, until, on the 7th of December, 1876, culminated the disease, which for many years had been slowly invading his system and undermining his constitution—a constitution of unusual strength and tenacity—and put an untimely end to the earthly career of one of America's best scholars and literary critics; and deprived the readers of the *Review*, and we may say the students of literature everywhere, of the services of a man whom they can ill-afford to spare.

That disease was *angina pectoris*. As usual the malady came on insidiously, but not without premonitions. Grave warnings of its invasion had repeatedly been given the victim; often had he been reminded of the peril in which he lived, by symptoms which he knew but too well, and which were imminent and unmistakable. But a man must stand to his post even though to do so be death to him! So, at least, reasoned DR. SEARS. Had he heeded those warnings and given himself up to timely rest and recreation, we feel sure that the malady had been stayed, and a life of unusual vigor and usefulness been prolonged yet these many years.

But it is idle to indulge in speculations of what might have been, had circumstances been different. The course of events, which has deprived *The National Quarterly Review* of its head, was inevitable, howsoever unwise or fortuitous. Those who knew the character of the man cannot be surprised at the result. DR. SEARS' was a nature warm and impulsive; restive and uneasy under restraint; fearless of personal consequences; impatient under obstacles; passionate under repression. He was ever impelled by it to occupy the advanced posts of conflict. He took pleasure in resistance, not to say, aggression. It was impossible for him to find rest in an easy position. His delight to prick a bubble or to expose a sham; his hatred of quackery and ill-founded pretension; the satisfaction he derived in ventilating the dark ways and doings of men—in unmasking the hypocrite, and unraveling the mercenary

and over-reaching designs of individuals and corporations—more especially those of educational institutions—kept him always busy—his hands always full; so that no time was left him for the needed relaxation. Thus did he work and write by night and by day, in contempt of the laws and conditions of his physique; working whether he were ill or well, always, and to the very last—dying, as it were, with a pen in his hand and a line from Æschylus, or Euripides on his lips! With shortness of breath and agony of nerve, he arranged in part this present number of the *Review;* revising the manuscripts, pruning sentences, correcting proof-sheets, and making such other suggestions as his solicitude for its interest and the welfare of the *Review* seemed to dictate.

The *Review* staggers under the magnitude of its loss! Whether it can survive the sad catastrophe or not is a question the solution of which rests largely with its subscribers and patrons. Be that as it may, its late, lamented editor has made it deserving of life and continuance; and we feel confident that all those who loved and respected him will wish well of the publication which his genius and energy have so firmly established.

It is too late in the Quarter to give our readers any adequate idea of the life and character of DR. SEARS. The *Review* is already in press, and the printer is making his last call for "copy." We hope however to be able, in the next succeeding number of it, to give a just, comprehensive sketch of his life and career. When the keen edge of grief has wore

away; when the pang of bereavement subsides; the wounds of affection heal; the storm of emotion abates; and the calm, unimpassioned judgment resumes its authority in our mind, we shall be in a more favorable position to present a just, impartial estimate of the life and character of the late, lamented editor of THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

We will only add that he died as he lived, *sans peur et sans reproche.* He met death as a MAN should do who knows that his work is done and his course finished—calmly and with satisfaction. He could have said with Horace, in the fine language he knew so well:

"*Quo me cunque rapit tempestas, deferor hospes.*"

THE

NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. LXVII.

DECEMBER, 1876.

ART. I.—1. *Psychologie Naturelle.* Par PROSPER DESPINE. Paris. 1867.

2. *Principles of Mental Physiology.* By WM. B. CARPENTER, M. D., F. R. S., etc. London. 1874.

3. *Mental Pathology and Therapeutics.* By WM. GRIESINGER, M. D. London. 1867.

4. *Man's Place in Nature.* By THOMAS H. HUXLEY, F. R. S. New York. 1863.

5. *Principles of Psychology.* By HERBERT SPENCER. London. 1860.

6. *Physiology and Pathology of the Mind.* By HENRY MAUDSLEY, M. D. New York. 1872.

> "THAT man is a living being, intrinsically and properly one and individual, not compound and separable, not according to the common opinion, made up and framed of two distinct and different natures, as of soul and body—but the whole man is soul, and the soul, man; that is to say, a body, or substance, individual, animated, sensitive and rational."—*Milton's Discourse on Christian Doctrine—Prose Works*, v. IV., p. 188. Bohn's ed. 1853.

PHYSIOLOGISTS have divided and subdivided the human body into so many parts; isolated so many tissues, glands, organs and nerve centres; differentiated such a variety of systems, properties, functions and faculties, that it is not at

all surprising that the student should sometimes lose sight of the unity of that rational being which is the real object of his search; or that the human personality, one and indivisible, which can only be recognized in the undivided whole, should, in the confusion incident to the multiplicity of the parts, completely escape his attention. The knowledge of the minute details, which is essential to success in the medical art, has a tendency, unfortunately, to dwarf the imagination of the observer, and to make a routine plodder of one who ought to be a philosopher. This tendency ought to be resolutely guarded against by the physician if he would attain excellence in medical art and science. And we are glad to find M. Despine, in his comprehensive work, *Psychologie Naturelle*, taking special care to charge the natural psychologist with the propriety of readjusting the dissected parts of the human anatomy, if he would obtain a clear, comprehensive conception of the real being which the whole embodies. "Si donc," to use his own language, "pour étudier l'homme, nous sommes obligés de séparer les éléments qui le composent, hâtons-nous de les réunir, afin d'apprécier l'ensemble, qui seul le constitue."*

With this analytical method of studying the human form have we no fault to find; it is a necessity of arriving at that minute and detail knowledge of structure and function which it is our main object to possess. It seems to us, however, from the narrow, partial and incomplete view of man presented by many physiologists of to-day, that, after studying his anatomy with an industry highly creditable to them, they had really misapprehended the relation which the parts sustain to the whole; had in fact forgotten to reunite the parts so as to present that unity and symmetry, the perfection of which is ultimated in the human being. The justness of this criticism will be apparent to any one who will take the trouble to observe the degree of functional independence accorded the two great systems of nerves, the sympathetic and the cerebro-spinal, from which one might easily infer that man was a double being, vegetable and animal; possessing two separate

*Vol. I. p. 608.

and distinct lives, organic and psychic, conscious and unconscious. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth than such an inference, as all know. Nevertheless, while all physiologists freely admit man's physiological unity; that all his parts are required to constitute the ideal whole, they still insist on keeping up the distinction of body and mind, mental and physical; one of which is destructible, mortal; the other—indestructible, immortal. Even Despine,* to whose truly excellent work on Psychology we have already referred, keeps up the antiquated distinction, defining man as an animal of a superior species, composed of a body and a soul: "L'homme est un animal d'une espèce supérieure, composé d'un corps et d'une âme; animal, que rendent raisonnable et moralement libre les connaissances qu'il acquiert par les facultés morales et par les facultés intellectuelles." The learned author states, however, in the general summary of his work, that he purposely limited himself to the study of "the faculties of the mind and their diverse manifestations," leaving all those questions which do not strictly belong, in his view, to the domain of observation, to philosophy.† Nevertheless, he frequently discloses a tendency to respect the dogmas of theology as if they were absolute verities, to be received in silence if not with acquiescence. We note this peculiarity simply for an occasion to remark, *en courant*, that it is an error not uncommon to certain scientists. It is born, not so much of slavish subserviency to spiritual authority, as of the fear of *the sequences of rational logic*. The latter, it is needless to say, is wholly foreign to the scientific spirit, which is content with the discovery and annunciation of truth, and concerns not itself with the consequences which loyalty to truth sometimes entails, but accepts them without question,

**Psychologie Naturelle.* Vol. I. p. 601.

† "La psychologie, c'est-à-dire la science des facultés de l'esprit et de leurs manifestations diverses, ne doit pas sortir de l'étude de la nature, et c'est dans ces limites que je me suis constamment maintenu. Quoique spiritualiste, j'ai laissé de côté toutes les questions métaphysiques puis qu'elles ne ressortissent point du domaine de l'observation, des sciences naturelles."—*Ibid.* Vol. III. p. 531.

if not with satisfaction. This is the courage of conviction, —a product of the scientific spirit; the moral and intellectual freedom of which so many boast, but which so few possess, which brings to its earnest possessor rest, peace and faith supreme in—Truth.

Returning to our main subject, we remark that, all the diverse distinctions which have so long been maintained to distinguish man's complex nature, as body and soul, mind and spirit; and qualities of being, as physical and psychical, etc., are predicated on pseudo-metaphysical conceptions; separating the subjective from the objective; and making an entity of that which has no existence apart from the *conception* of it. If it were a rational procedure this process of dividing the human being might justly be carried to much greater length. Instead of having one body and one soul, one mind and one spirit, his nature might be invested with several, since he is a universe in miniature in very deed, and has within him the essential characteristics of every species of being and form of life and mind.

Plutarch wrote better than he could have known—better, at least, than the facts in his possession could have warranted —when he declared that "the substance of the body is no other than that all-receiving nature, the seat and nurse of all created beings."* The idea was not new in Plutarch's time, nor is it new to-day to the poets and thinkers, who, like Plutarch, do not square their views of nature and things by purely objective phenomena, but who embrace causes in the category of phenomena, and advance to the broader generalization of a comprehensive design in the nature of things.† The idea *is* new, however, to that very staid and respectable class of thinkers who cling to science as their polar star in

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**Morals.* Vol. II. p. 331.

†"Dire que toute substance est force ne suffit pas; il faut ajouter que toute force simple a en elle le principe de sa direction, et que le mouvement par lequel elle se produit est une tendance vers une fin." *La Philosophie des causes finales.* By M. Vacherot, *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, Sept. 1er 1876. p. 61.

philosophy, and accept nothing as true which she fails to verify. And what is most interesting in this connection is that the demonstrations of science are slowly preparing the scientific mind to accept the sublime deductions of the poet-philosophers respecting the unity of the material and spiritual, body and mind, and the agency of mind in nature, and in those countless orders of being that take on form and substance—become visible in nature. She is, in fact, revolutionizing physiology in the direction of transcendentalism.

To say, therefore, that man is a physiological unity, or that he comprehends in his nature and substance, the nature and substance of the Cosmos, or that he is a universe in miniature, is not indulging in metaphor, or figure of speech, to charm the imagination, or to over-awe the sense; neither is it putting a poetic, unreal, nor fanciful construction on a fact. Rather is it uttering a grand, literal, sublime and solemn truth, the full force and significance of which no language is adequate to convey to the understanding of the untrained mind.

So, too, in respect of the nature and universality of life and mind, the facts and inductions of science point to no uncertain conclusion. If there is any truth in the doctrine of the correlation of force, there are as many kinds of mind as there are forms of matter or substance to correlate them—force and mind being essentially identical; form and substance their externality. Herein science and philosophy support each other. "Toute la substance matérielle de l'univers," very truly writes M. Vacherot, in perfect accord with science, "se ramène donc à un nombre infini de forces simples, indivisibles, individuelles, de monades qui une fois créées produisent d'elles-mêmes l'ordre universel du Cosmos, en vertu de cette loi de l'harmonie préétablie, conséquence nécessaire de la nature et de l'action des principes élémentaires."* This "law of harmony" is emanent in nature, not exterior to it, and is a convenient phrase to express *design*, which is likewise emanent, in every form of matter, inorganic as well as organic. To

*La Philosophie des Causes Finales, *Revue des Deux-Mondes*. Sept. 1er 1876. p. 55.

deny this dignity to inorganic matter is a compromise to the common understanding, and is nowise justified by the teachings of science, or of sound philosophy. The law, or design, exhibited in the snow-flake may be of a lower order than that exhibited in the monad, but each is perfect in its way, evolving itself according to an ideal, innate, definite and uniform. In the fine language and thought of M. Vacherot, in his essay on "Final Causes:" "C'est dans la substance cosmique elle-même qu'elle nous montre l'activité créatrice de la cause finale opérant d'après des lois immuables, éternelles et universelles, conformes à son essence même."*

This fact, so constant in the evolution of every form of substance in nature, presupposes the emanence of mind in matter, call it by whatever name or phrase we may—law, instinct, principle of differentialism, or the will of an all-powerful Creator. The doctrine of the mutual convertibility of the forces, physical and psychical, the truth of which has become axiomatic, lends strong support to this view—as before stated. We are taught by this doctrine the legitimate kinship of the forces; that the diverse forms of force are forms of mind, and *vice versa*, the diverse forms of mind are forms of force. If this proposition be true it is wholly legitimate to say that there is one form of mind in the primordial elements, as manifested in the phenomena of chrystallization; another, in chemical compounds, as shown in the phenomena of chemical affinity; still another, in vegetable forms—the organic force; and numerous others in the ascending series of animal forms, from the simple cell formation of the jelly fish up through every grade of being to its supreme development in the cerebral convolutions of the divinest man.

Von Hartmann, in his "Philosophy of the Unconscious," has elaborated this view of life and mind. And Prof. Ernst Haeckel, of Germany, the eminent apostle of Darwinism is in perfect accord with it. "We thus arrive at the extremely important conviction," he writes, "*that all natural bodies*

* La Philosophie des Causes Finales, *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, Sept. 1er 1876. p. 55.

which are known to us are *equally animated;* that the distinction which has been made between animate and inanimate bodies does not exist. When a stone is thrown into the air, and falls to the earth according to definite laws; or when in a solution of salt a crystal is formed, the phenomenon is neither more nor less a mechanical manifestation of life than the growth and flowering of plants; than the propagation of animals, or the activity of their senses; than the perception or the formation of thought in man."*

It is impossible to over-estimate the influence of these conclusions on physiology. Having a basis on scientific demonstration, they must ultimately revolutionize the old ideas of the relation of mind and matter, and make way for the solution of many problems of human nature which have hitherto been inscrutable, or subjects of inane and profitless conjecture. The old distinction between life and mind have already been broken down by them; and forces, which have ordinarily been regarded as entities, as vitality, mind and spirit, are now reduced to abstractions, having no existence apart from forms and substances which correlate them—except in the intellect of the observer.

Is it not an error, therefore, to assume, as we commonly do, that the mind of man has its seat exclusively in the head? The supremest intelligence, the logical, thinking faculty, has its seat there, and is undoubtedly due to the normal activity of the cells of the cortical grey substance; but other kinds of mind, such as the unconscious life and sensibility of the individual, are peculiar properties, so to speak, of the other parts of the organism, carrying forward its several functions; the processes of nutrition, growth, repair and decay, etc.; comprehending all these activities the ensemble of which is known as the bodily life.† The revelations of physical science have not only prepared one

* *The History of Creation.* Vol. I. p. 23.

† "The brain," says Prof. Huxley, "is only one condition out of many on which intellectual manifestations depend; the others being, chiefly, the organs of the senses and the motor apparatuses, especially those which are concerned in prehension, and in the production of articulate speech." *Man's Place in Nature.* p. 122.

to entertain this view of life and mind, but the evidence derived from vivisection, notably the experiment of Pflüger with a decapitated frog, gives strong support to it, if indeed, it does not demonstrate the absolute truth of it. Not only do the phenomena of nutrition go forward normally, and physical movements co-ordinate regularly in, and by animals whose cerebra have been removed, but other and more complex, and demonstrably intelligent actions are performed by them, as shown in the well-known experiment of Pflüger, just mentioned. Vivisection has been much condemned of late, both in this country and in England; but if philosophy is of as much value to mankind as we believe it to be, this one experiment of Pflüger is of more consequence than the preservation or protection of the animal kingdom.

Were this view of mind and its agency in nature peculiar to us we should put it forth with greater diffidence than we now do, even were the facts of nature and observation more conclusive in its support than they now are. But, fortunately, we can lay no claim to the exclusive possession of biological and physiological doctrines so bold and revolutionary. Not only were they advanced by Aristotle and other Greek philosophers more than two thousand years ago; reaffirmed by Leibnitz, Spinoza, Cabanis, and others, of the last century and early in this; advocated by poets like Milton, Goëthe, Novalis, Schoppenhauer, and others; but some well-known physiologists and naturalists of the present day give in their adhesion to them. "It behooves us," writes Dr. Maudsley, "to clearly realize the broad fact, which has most wide-reaching consequences in mental physiology and pathology, that all parts of the body, the highest and the lowest, have a sympathy with one another more intelligent than conscious intelligence can yet, or perhaps ever will, conceive; * * that the mind as the crowning achievement of organization, and the consummation and outcome of all its energies, really comprehends the bodily life."* And elsewhere he writes to the same purpose: "As the man of genius implicitly contains humanity, so nervous

*_Body and Mind._ 2d Ed. p. 102.

element implicitly contains nature."* In the latter remark, however, the eloquent writer is less felicitous The nervous element does undoubtedly "contain" or comprehend the higher forms of nature; but there are, certainly, other and lower forms of nature which the nervous element does not contain, or include, notably the mineral and vegetable kingdoms.

But we are not, on the present occasion, concerned so much with the nature of mind and life, as with the unity of form and substance, body and soul—the oneness, monism, of that which is usually regarded as divisible and separable. "The Cosmos," says the late Herr Strauss, "is simultaneous both cause and effect, the inward and the outward together."† And man, who is but the repetition of the universe on a small scale, is both soul and body, the outward and the inward together, one and inseparable. The first lesson which the observant physiologist is called upon to learn is the coincidence and interdependence of form and force, substance and property, structure and function. The visible and the invisible are indissolubly linked together in the phenomena of nature. Function could not exist without structure; force without matter; thought without nerve substance; the psychical without the physical. These are the two sides of one and the same being;—phenomena so mutually dependent in every form of being that the naturalist could easily dispense with either side of it, and deal exclusively with one or the other, without materially changing the practical results of his conclusions;—that is, he could pursue his investigations on either the physical or psychical side of life with equally faithful results. In physiology the fact is being illustrated daily in the harmony between mental physiology and natural psychology; mental pathology and medical, or morbid, psychology; the one unfolding the normal function and structure; the other, the abnormal structure and function—the disordered psychical phenomena of thought and feeling, to which the disordered

**Physiology and Pathology of the Mind.* p. 63.

†*The Old Faith and the New.* Vol. II. p. 163.

and diseased substance and structure of the physical—or psychical, if one prefers the term—organism gives rise. It may not be uninteresting to trace this relation as briefly as may be in the development of the animal kingdom—on the normal side of nature—though the abnormal side is equally instructive and conclusive.

All the varieties of animal life are known to us through forms that distinguish each species; and all the properties or powers manifested or possessed by them, they hold by virtue of some peculiar substance or structure upon which such properties or powers are contingent, and by which they are able to transform plastic matter into their own peculiar substance. That which is true of the simplest form of matter is equally true—only with greater prominence—with organic forms the most complex. The lowest form of animal life, of which we possess any definite knowledge, for example, is the Amœba, of the Protozoa family, and the lowest of the class Molusca of Agassiz. These animals, if such they may be called, are mere conglomerations of plastic matter, which Dr. Carpenter characterizes as "living jelly." Their structure consists of an aggregation of simple cells, homogeneous throughout. They possess the powers of motion and selection, however, in so far that they wrap themselves around their food, as occasion requires, and after elaborating and absorbing the nutritious portions, summarily reject the rest. The animal character of this low form of being is shown chiefly by its dependence upon organic substances for its support, "which it gradually dissolves and appropriates that which is fitted for its own increase." Assuredly protoplasm and life are not distinct entities in these forms, except as a conception of the intellect!

Then there are the *Rhizopoda* and *Porifera*, with more complicated structure, mode of growth and propagation, and possess accordingly a less simple substance as the basis of their formation. Both have a gelatinous composition, with some calcareous matter in their interior, and both present, in their organization, "more or less distinctly the character of true cells." The latter, or sponge tribe, are provided with cavities which serve as stomachs; and also an extended system of pores

for the entrance, circulation and absorption of nutrient matter; and even canals, as Dr. Carpenter calls them, for the passage of foreign and rejected substances. In the sponge animal may be observed an humble approach at differentiation of organs and functions, in the digestive apparatus, structure and mode of reproduction. Dr. Carpenter says there is reason to believe that in these low forms of aggregate animals, "a true *ovum* is produced; so that we here already advance to the same essential type of generation as that which prevails in the highest plants."* No vestige of nervous substance is discoverable in them, and yet they are not without the psychic element of *instinct* as observed in their ability to care for themselves to some extent. Their psychical life is evidently as simple as their physical organization is humble.

Ascending the scale of being to more complex forms we find a corresponding complexity of psychical manifestations. In some of the lowest species of the Mollusk class, the Ascidian, for example, the simplest form of a nervous system is discovered, consisting of a solitary ganglion and a few branches of nerves. In these little animals, which consist of a simple oblong oyster-shape sac, with a mouth, cilia and stomach, therefore, may be observed the beginning of what the older physiologists designated as the organic properties of sensation and contractility. The little tentacles that guard the oral orifice are described as peculiarly sensitive, for the distribution of nerves is mainly to the mouth; and even the body, if touched, contracts with more or less violence, and expels the contents of the sac. Here, also, may be seen the simplest rudiments of muscle. The higher members of the mollusk exhibit a much higher nervous and muscular apparatus; and although brainless, manifest powers of prehension in selecting food and escaping from danger. The highest of them possess locomotive powers. And even the oyster and clam can open and shut their shells. Their ganglionic organs correlate mind enough to enable them to regulate their simple

* *Principles of Comparative Physiology.* 4th Ed. p. 70. Philapelphia. 1854.

functions and to fill the place to which wisdom has assigned them. We are aware that all the actions of this group of animals are referred by physiologists to "reflex" functions of the nervous system. But what's in a name? Since they are to a certain degree intelligent phenomena; phenomena corresponding to those which we should expect to occur as a legitimate sequence of their nervous system, we prefer to characterize them *mental*, and to see in them the evidence of *Mind in Nature*. Dr. Carpenter, who would strongly oppose this view of the subject, as would also most other physiologists, distinctly states that "in our (his) examination of the nervous system of the Mollusca, we hitherto met with a progressive multiplication of its centres, in accordance with a progressive complication of the organism, and especially with the increase of its sensori-motor powers."* This admission completely covers the ground for which we contend.

Advancing now to the insect kingdom, to that numerous series of animal forms known as the *Articulata*, let us notice briefly the leading characteristics of the nervous apparatus of certain members of this most interesting class. It is all the more interesting to us, in its bearings on our subject, for the reason that physiologists almost universally agree in denying any member of this class any degree of consciousness or intelligence; but insist upon consigning its psychical manifestations to the exclusive domain of instinct. Its series of surprising movements toward a definite end; the remarkable cunning displayed by certain members of the group in executing their designs; the matchless ingenuity exhibited by them in building, weaving, mechanical designing, etc.; their acute powers of special sense; wonderful agility and endurance in flight and locomotion, etc., mark them out as a species preëminently worthy of all the study that has been given to them.†

**Principles of Comparative Physiology*. 4th Ed. p. 70. Philadelphia, 1854.

† "Whether such "reflex action" is, or is not attended with consciousness depends on the other endowments of the ganglion which performs it; that it is certain that actions which *seem* to indicate a definite *purpose* and

The *Annelida*, or lowest of the group, having but a limited development of the organs of special sense, are correspondingly wanting in the development of cephalic ganglia. Like the larva of insects, its nerve-cords and nerve-centres are distributed uniformly throughout its organism. In the higher forms of that class, however, there is a strong tendency to special concentration of the ganglia in the thorax and head, and with it a manifest increase in the organs of special sense. In the larva, the tendency reaches its climax after passing through its metamorphoses and attaining the *Imago*, or perfect insect. Although it now has no cerebrum, no cerebullum, and no medula oblongata, etc., comparable in any degree with those organs in the higher *Vertebrata*, it has, nevertheless, enormous cephalic glanglia, as well as thoracic and visceral, which give strong visual and other powers of special sense; no small degree of intelligence, as observed in the sagacity, *alias* instinct, of the bee and spider; and powers of locomotion and flight, as also seen in those insects. Indeed, the perfect insect (*Imago*) is chiefly constituted of ganglia, nerve-cord and nerve filliaments, disposed and distributed in such a manner, head, chest, abdomen and stomach, legs and wings, as to insure the greatest possible concentration of muscular and nervous powers in those organs, the exercise of which does most distinguish it. Moreover, its corporal form and structure show wonderful adaptation of means to ends and uses, of which all nature furnishes no illustration more conspicuous.

It seems to us that the physiology and anatomy of what Agassiz has classed as the *Insecta*, afford evidence of the mutual dependence of material structure and psychical force as complete and satisfactory as the nature of the case admits. In all these forms of being we are not dealing with phenomena exclusively, but tracing or endeavoring to trace, the connection of object and subject; and showing or endeavoring to show,

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will, may be called forth by mere stimulation, under circumstances which forbid us to attribute to anything else than the automatic and unconscious action of the nerve-centre."—*Carpenter's Principles of Mental Physiology*, p. 47.

their absolute inseparableness. And we fail to see the logic or justification of that view, which would relegate the psychical phenomena of the bees and wasps to the domain of instinct, or to purely automatic or mechanical action, while attributing similar phenomena in the human species to the influence of conscious will and intelligence. Thus Dr. Carpenter, before quoted, ascribes the ingenuity of the bees to instinct, of which they furnish in his view the perfect representation of that power; "its whole aim being to work out a design which is formed *for* it, not *by* it; and the tendency to which is embodied, (as it were,) in its organization."

One is inclined to ask, after reading this remarkable passage: Who forms the design of the geometric cell, or directs the building of the honey-comb? Who directs the spider to weave its web, or to lie in wait for its prey? Are these cunning and refined processes and impulses guided and superintended by the Supreme hand of a personal Presence? Oh, no, by no means! "Deity has more important affairs to manage than those of wasps and spiders," we are told. It is "instinct;" "consensual impulses," "reflex action" upon which those duties devolve. How wise is the answer! We marvel at the power of words to cheat the intellect and render automatic definitions of mental phenomena. In this way and by such means, the understanding is robbed of its full participation in the glorious mysteries of the living, moving world. We apprehend that the designing power in all these instances is within, in the nerve centres with which these ingenious and designing creatures are so well provided. Their skill in planning, weaving and building; their powers of foresight and prehension originate with them in the coördinating centres of their nervous system. They are mental processes of the same nature and altogether similar to those carried on by similar faculties in man.

Let us pass now to the consideration of the hurt and of highest series in the grand division of the animal kingdom—the *Vertebrata*—and proceed at once to the highest link in the chain of that series—Man.

In our brief ascension through the three divisions of the

animal kingdom, no evidence has yet been discovered tending to show that the *subject* is even dissociated from its *object*, *phenomena* from its *cause*; and it would seem a hopeless task to pursue the search with any prospect of success in the human species. The tendency of physiological research into the mysteries of the human economy, has been from the first to connect the so-called psychical powers of thought and sentiment with organic functions of the highest ganglionic centres. And although complete and entire, connections have not yet been satisfactorily established, the process is so nearly completed as to leave no rational doubt of its possibility and ultimate attainment—no shadow of doubt that such a connection exists.

The evidence disclosed in the ascending series of animal forms, from the lowest jelly tribe to the class of vertebrated animals to which man himself belongs, goes to show that no form of being has been created, but that every form of being has been *evolved*; that man himself is an evolution, the grand coronation of the animal kingdom, the highest of all developed beings. We have seen a tendency manifest, even in the ascidian, to differentiate organs and functions. In the human organism that tendency is completely ultimated. All minor groups of organisms, of which we have any knowledge, are differentiated in man and combine to form and differentiate the life human. The so-called vital properties, which exist isolated in the lower species of the animal, harmoniously blend in man. So, likewise, the corresponding substances and tissues, on which those properties are contingent, combine in the human organism to complete the microcosm of the universe—man. These facts are disclosed in the minute study of his corporal organization, and are by no means rhapsodical declamations, without force and meaning.

The sympathetic ganglia with their distribution of nerve-cords and nerve-plexuses in man, bear in function, a close analogy to that of the nervous system of the bee—an animal displaying the physiologist's beau-ideal of instinctive life. But its operation presents phenomena assuredly not less instinctive, so far as it goes, in man. The complex processes of digestion, mastication alone excepted, and assimilation; the

circulation of the blood; respiration; reproduction; the phenomena of sleep; the conservation and repair of the organism, etc., are under the dominion of, so-called, instinct, and are carried forward, independently of consciousness, in the generally received acceptation of that term. This part of the human organism has been wrongly set apart as the exclusive domain of the organic or vegetative life; and the distinction has led to confusion and misconception, as already pointed out. It is needless to trace in this place the nervous connection between the ganglionic system and the cerebro-spinal system. It will be sufficient to remark that the brain and spinal cord are themselves organic, and depend on the harmonious operations of the lower ganglionic system and its dependencies for the performance of their prescribed functions. On the other hand the lower corporal functions are performed independently of any necessary influence of the cerebral functions, as proved by the removal of the cerebra of birds and other vertebrates; and also by anencephalic idiots of the human species. Infants have been born alive with neither a cerebrum nor a cerebellum. Nevertheless, they lived several days and nursed regularly when the nipple was put into their mouth, and performed other "automatic" movements equally complicated.* Such beings, however, and animals that have been by surgical process deprived of a cerebrum, have no *conscious* mind and will. The ego in them has lapsed. In the cases of anencephalic idiots it is never developed; in creatures surgically deprived of it, it is evidently taken away with the cerebral substance. This conclusion is inevitable. And if the psychical powers of mind have an existence after the final dissolution of the psychical substance, with which such powers of mind are identified, the manner and mode thereof are beyond the ken of reason, or of scientific discovery, or interpretation.†

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* *Vide* Carpenter's Principles of Mental Physiology. p. 72.

†We are not unmindful that we are treading upon delicate, and to many people, sacred ground when we touch the relation of soul and body, and especially the subject of human destiny. It will be sufficient to re-

But, have animals thus treated no unconscious mind and will? Are the phenomena of organic life which they manifest under such circumstances to be justly attributed to automatic or mechanical agency? Physiologists, in the main, say Yes: we, with no disguised diffidence, say No. The logic of analogy compels us to recognize in the similarity of the grey and medullary substance of the spinal cord and its crowning bulb—the medulla oblongata—to that of the brain, a similarity of functions—lower grade probably, but still similar; that is to say, *unconscious* mind and will. To us it seems unreasonable to suppose that an individual, or an animal, has no intelligent agency in what goes on in his organism unconsciously to himself; that those actions which he performs in his waking hours, as walking, winking, writing, playing on musical instruments, co-ordinating speech, etc., are automatic, or mechanical, because they are performed without disturbing his conscious attention. Why, all the phenomena of the sympathetic and spinal systems go forward unconsciously in the most systematic manner possible to conceive in health: and we are never conscious of them until diseases set in and suffering comes!

The actions of the sympathetic ganglia and the spinal cord are automatic in the sense that those of a steam engine in ac-

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mind the supersensitive in this respect, that it is no part of our theme to discuss the subject of conscious life after seeming death, or final dissolution of the visible body of man. We make no pretention to have fathomed the mysterious depths of human life and mind, nor of matter and force. There may be matter within matter and mind within mind without limit; and modes and qualities of substance and being which are comprehensible only to a sense supersensible, and which are entirely consistent with our knowledge of the world sensible. And it is a source of supreme comfort and satisfaction to us to know that the revelations of science—rather, it is true, in what it does not reveal, than in what it does—point to this conclusion, such, for example, as the ether hypothesis, and the inference, entirely legitimate, of the existence of microscopic monads infinitely beyond the powers of finite agencies and senses to detect and appreciate. Let us reason from what we know, freely and without trammel, or fear of consequences, and hold firmly and abidingly on to a living, everlasting faith in the Providences, Supreme, Eternal and Universal.

tion, or of a ship at sea, are automatic.* Put an engineer on one and a sailing master on the other, and either of them executes a purpose, with infinitely less precision, of course, but in a manner analogous to that observed in organic form. But in these instances the automatic actions of each are under the promptings of the grey and medullary substance of the man at the helm or at the throttle valve. Are the automatic actions of the animal with the spinal cord and sympathetic ganglia less so? Remove these centres of will and sense from the animal, and if then the victim exhibits automata, or makes use of acquired or "accumulated experience," the doctrines of the advocates of automatic phenomena of the decapitated animal shall be conclusively established.

On the other hand, the evidence afforded by trustworthy physiological experiments would seem to fully warrant the conclusion that the spinal cord is possessed of mind and will, executing an intelligent purpose—unconscious perhaps—but still, intelligent. The celebrated experiment of Pflüger, with a decapitated frog and acetic acid, to which we have already referred, is too well known to be recapitulated here. All agree that the animal performed very strange acts for an automaton. And it is well-known, too, that doves eat and digest after their brains have been removed, provided always the food be put into their mouth. They do not know enough in their decapitated condition to *voluntarily* seek food, and that is no wonder to any one.

The phenomena of conservation and repair of the bodily organism, independently of conscious volition or direction, are well-known and universally recognized. But purpose and intelligent design are everywhere apparent in them. Take, for

* Dr Balfour Stewart likens a steam engine to a living being: "But while the one—the engine—requires for its maintenance only carbon, or some other variety of chemical separation, the other—the human being—demands to be supplied with organized tissue. In fact, that delicacy of construction which is so essential to our well-being, is not something which we can elaborate internally in our own frames—all that we can do is to appropriate and assimilate that which comes to us from without; it is already present in the food which we eat."—*Conservation of Energy*, p. 165.

example, the phenomena of a broken bone repairing itself after a fashion without the interposition of external appliances or aids. So likewise in that serious and most fatal malady or accident, intussusception—an accident rendered ten thousand times more fatal by the foolish interposition of art than it would be left entirely to the control of the spinal cord and the sympathetic ganglia—we see the most consummate exhibition of surgical skill in the method devised and executed by nature for its relief and cure! In injuries of the skin how wonderful is the skill displayed before our—we were going to say — astonished eyes, in performing anaplastic surgery! In a few days the lost cuticle is restored so perfectly that no visible trace of the wound is left behind. These conservatory processes are all miraculous enough, performed as they are by hands so airy and delicate as to be all unseen, and by a process so miraculous as to escape the acutest sense; but their miraculous character would be augmented infinitely were they to go on without the intelligent presence and engineering skill of the spinal and sympathetic ganglia.

As the sensori-centres of the cerebrum may perform their functions—*think and feel*—without consciousness, giving rise to that misnomer, "unconscious cerebration" (just as if cerebration were ever conscious, except in mania!) of Dr. Carpenter, so the sensori-motor and sensori-mental functions of the cord and its ganglia, in their normal state, are always performed without consciousness. And we do not know that we have such a system until it is disordered; then automata are without method; the "acquired experience" of the animal avails him nothing; the skilled hand has lost its miraculous dexterity—it is paralyzed. The individual cannot swallow, even if he consciously tries to do so; he has dysphagia; he cannot walk nor perform other symmetrical movements, even with the most powerfully and painfully conscious efforts; he has locomotor ataxia; simple wounds will not heal—the parts are anæsthesic! Disguise the truth of the condition with Greek derivities as we will, the fact remains that the automaton will cease its automatic actions when the directing agent of them has ceased its intelligent interposition and directing agency.

When we state that the development of the cortical substance of the cerebral hemispheres and the development of the human characteristics go hand in hand, or are coincidental facts in the physiology of man, we state a proposition that carries with it quite the force of a truism. Inferences justified by analogy point unmistakably to that conclusion. Indeed, there is evidence bearing directly on the point at issue that forces conviction of its truth on the mind of every physiologist with whose writings we are acquainted. The number of the convolutions, their size, depth of their sulci, quality and quantity of the brain substance, are all important factors in the psychical powers of will, moral force and intellectuality. The distinction or differentiation between man and man, and man and the man-like apes, turns mainly on the amount and quality of the cortex of their cerebra. From the brain of the lowest order of the monkey—the marmoset—to that of the highest order of the chimpanzee, the cerebral convolutions present every stage of progress with the intellectual progress of the types—the brain, from being almost smooth on its surface, as in the marmoset monkey, to the completely convoluted of those of the orang and chimpanzee, "which fall but little below" that of man, according to Professor Huxley.*

It is true, as Henle has pointed out,† that the brains of ap-

* *Man's Place in Nature*, p. 119. It is due to the subject and to Prof. Huxley, however, to note that, in his opinion, the difference between man and the man-like ape depends less on any structural divergence of their cerebra than on the amount and weight of their respective brains. "It must not be overlooked, however," he writes, "that there is a very striking difference, in absolute mass and weight, between the lowest human brain and that of the highest ape—a difference which is all the more remarkable when we recollect that a full grown gorilla is probably pretty nearly twice as heavy as a Bosjes man, or as many an European woman. It may be doubted whether a healthy human adult brain ever weighed less than thirty-one or two ounces, or that the heaviest gorilla brain has exceeded twenty ounces. This is a very noteworthy circumstance," he remarks, "and doubtless will one day help to furnish an explanation of the great gulf which intervenes between the lowest man and the highest ape in intellectual power."—*Id.*, p. 120.

† Henle's *Nervenlehre*, p. 163, cited. Vide Raue's Physiological Psychology, *North American Journal of Homœopathy*. New Series, No. xxiii.

parently very ordinary men have sometimes been found on examination to be every way superiorly developed to those of men of repute and learning. Such are the exceptions, however, to the rule. And may we not in all such exceptions discern the influence of heredity on the one hand, and the power of education on the other? If there is any truth in heredity, or virtue in culture, surely we should expect to find great diversity of cerebral endowment at birth; and an individual with an endowment originally superior might, by inferior advantages, training, etc., be found subsequently altogether inferior to one less happily endowed originally, but who had been thoroughly trained and cultivated. "A man born dumb," says Prof. Huxley, "notwithstanding his great cerebral mass and his inheritance of strong intellectual instincts, would be capable of few higher intellectual manifestations than an orang or a chimpanzee, if he were confined to the society of dumb associates. And yet there might not be the slightest discernible difference between his brain and that of a highly intelligent and cultivated person."* Henle evidently overlooked these considerations, or he would not have been so surprised to find the brain of a poor, unknown German anatomically superior to that of the celebrated Gauss.

The phenomena of arrested-development, or congenital idiocy, in which the higher nervous centres have failed to appear, are exceedingly interesting in this connection. The mind of such creatures is a blank, so far as the possession of the psychical powers of thought and sentiment, which are correlated by the nerve-centres, are concerned. The degree of psychical manifestation, in every such instance, is always in proportion to the degree of cerebral development. Marshall examined the brains of two idiots and found them inferior in cerebral development to those of the ape, "being in this respect more simple than the brain of the Gibbon, and approaching

1876. P. 335. Henle's attention was called to the anomaly by observing that the brain-convolutions of the celebrated Gauss were inferior to those of "a young nameless German."

*_Man's Place in Nature_, p. 122.

that of the baboon." These microcephalic idiots exist in great variety, and present every stage "of descent from man to the apes." Mr. Paget describes the brain of an idiot which corresponded to that of a fœtus at its fifth month of utero-gestation. And cases of idiocy are referred to by Dr. Maudsley, as common inmates of most large asylums, though we have never met them, which exhibit some of the traits of the ruminants, such as bolting their food and retiring to a secluded corner, and bringing it up in their mouths again to remasticate at their leisure.* A remarkable case of arrested-development has been recorded by the celebrated Pinel, which we find cited by Griesinger: "An idiotic girl, eleven years of age, resembled, by the form of her head, by her desires and capacities, a sheep. She manifested an aversion towards animal food, ate only vegetables and drank nothing but water; her whole speech consisted in *bé*, *ma tante*, whereby she showed her attachment to her nurse. She also, like a sheep, laid her head on the abdomen of her nurse; when fighting with other children she butted them as a sheep does; when wishing to fall asleep she curled herself upon the floor. Her back, shoulders and loins were clothed with a kind of soft black hair, one or two inches long, which much resembled wool."†

An equally interesting case of idiocy is described by Dr. Mitchell, deputy commissioner in lunacy for Scotland. The face, physiognomy, gestures and habits of this creature, closely resembled those of the ape. "He grins, chatters and screams like a monkey, never attempting a sound in any way resembling a word. He puts himself in the most ape-like attitudes in his hunt after lice, and often brings his mouth to help his hands. He grasps what he brings to his mouth with an apish hold. His thumbs are but additional fingers. He has a leaping walk. He has heavy eye-brows, and short hair on his cheek or face. He is muscular, active, and not dwarfish. He sits on the floor in ape-fashion, with his genitals always

* *Body and Mind*, p. 47.

† *Mental Pathology*, p. 379.

exposed. He has filthy habits of all kinds. He may be called an idiot," continues Maudsley, "of the lowest order, and yet there is a mischievous brute-like intelligence in his eye. His head is not very small, its greatest circumference being twenty inches and a half; but in shape it strongly resembles the ape-form of abnormality."* Dancel communicated to the Académie des Sciences, Paris, 1843, a notable instance of arrested-development. It was that of a young lady, aged twenty-four, "whose development proceeded normally up to the age of three and a half years," when it suddenly ceased. Her mental state was that of a child at that age; her body increased in size somewhat. And Baillarger presented to the Académie de Médecine, in 1857, an instance equally instructive in this connection. It was that of lady, age twenty-seven, "who had the intelligence and inclinations of a child of four years; she is about three feet high—the body very fat: the second dentition commenced when she was eighteen, and at twenty-seven was not complete." And Griesinger saw a remarkable case of this kind, "in which, in consequence of a blow on the head in childhood, the development, which had till then been normal, was completely arrested."† An interesting phenomenon of this kind has lately come under our own observation. The case is that of a young man, aged twenty-five years, who has not grown intellectually since the age of twelve, at which time he was unusually bright. His manner and habits are those of a young boy; he exhibits the same inapplication; the same absence of any settled purpose; the trifling, indecision of a child. He is sometimes gay and frolicsome like a child; at other times morose and ill-natured, as a child is occasionally apt to be. He is totally incapable of doing anything but the most unimportant errands; and cannot care for himself. The cause of the disaster is obscure, but is supposed to be the early indulgence of a nameless vice.

Pathological examinations of these "accidents" of nature reveal a curious state of the encephalic organs. Very grave

*Maudsley's *Body and Mind.* pp. 47, 48.

†Griesinger's *Mental Pathology*, etc. p. 377.

psychical defects are not always associated with defects of the substance of the hemispheres, though the latter are not unfrequently entirely wanting. Förg cites a case from Bianchi, in which the corpus callosum was wanting; so also were the pituitary glands, the pyramids, and the olivary bodies. And of the pons varolii there was only a trace. The hemispheres of the brain, and the thalami and corpora striata "were run together in one mass." Förg also gives a case that came under his own observation, with an equally anomalous cerebral development. It was that of a girl seventeen years of age. In her brain the middle fore part of the corpus callosum, the septum and the fornix were entirely wanting; only a rudiment of the white commissures of the gyrus fornicatus existed; the island of Riel was atrophied; the convolutions were absent, or irregularly grouped; the lobes of the cerebellum were unsymmetrical, etc. Her body was also unsymmetrical. She was profoundly idiotic. Riel, Paget, Henry, Solly, and others, report cases of moderate idiocy, in which the corpus callosum, septum lucidum, fornix, etc., were defectively developed. Defects of the corpus callosum seem to be the most constant fact in the anatomy of weak-minded people.*

Another important physio-pathological fact in this connection is that of atrophy of the brain subsequent to amputation of a limb. It would be difficult to find in the long catalogue of physiological phenomena a fact which proves more conclusively the unity of man and the mutual dependence of body and mind than this. If a leg or an arm be amputated, the hemisphere on the opposite side of such an amputation becomes gradually atrophied. The want of its normal stimulus to action being withdrawn in the loss of a limb, it falls itself into decay from disease, just as a muscle dwindles for the lack of exercise. M. Luys stated to the Société de Biologie, Paris, during one of its sessions in December, 1875, that he had found in autopsies of old persons, who had many years previously undergone amputation of the shoulder or a limb, atrophy of the opposite side

* *Vide* Griesinger's *Mental Pathology*, etc. p. 356, *et seq.*

of the brain; "and that he had already collected a dozen of those cases. It was produced only some fifteen or twenty years after the amputation."* The reciprocity and mutual dependence of mind and body is thus disclosed. The destruction of a sensori-motor centre paralyses and wastes the part which it controls; the destruction of the part which supplies the stimulus of that centre is equally destructive, in turn, to it, as one would suppose from *à priori* reasoning.

Facts of this and analogous character might be adduced almost *ad infinitum* in support of the proposition, seemingly self-evident, that structural deviations and changes of the brain are always accompanied with corresponding deviations and changes in psychical endowment. Many who admit the inseparable connection of brain structure and psychical power are unwilling to accept their relation in the order set down; preferring to reverse the order of cause and sequence, after the manner of the old metaphysicians, and to regard brain-structure as a sequence of mind-force in the order of development. Howsoever erroneous and unwarrantable that procedure may be, in view of all the facts and the order of their invariable procession, it is the one adopted and maintained by the devout adherents of the old—and all but obsolete—orthodox school. In its maintenance, assumption is pitted against observation; opinion against nature; prejudice against experience; philosophy of a misguided, distorted fancy, against the law of evolution. Its advocates are compelled to believe, or rather to maintain, that the idiot is not in fact, the inferior being that he seems to be, though he is so frequently wanting in self-consciousness, and knows nothing of that personality which the normally constituted being *feels*, and which asserts itself in the emphatic "I," "ME," "MYSELF." They are forced to defend the absurdity that he is not, in fact, wanting in the mentality which he fails to manifest by reason of the inconvenience,—quite temporary,—of not having the necessary corpus callosum, or cerebral substance; that, in truth, the mind of the idiot is actually *there*, in his encephalon, imperfect

*Vide *Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases.* p. 346. April, 1876.

or wanting though the latter be, with all its psychical powers of thought and feeling intact, though latent, ready to take possession of its tenement at the proper time, when nature shall do justly by her waif and provide one for him; that the mind is waiting, as it were, Dame Nature's pleasure, to step into occupy, and assume control of the now vacant cerebral cells, when they shall have been kindly provided for it. And if they never come; if the tenement is never fitted for the occupant —the wronged spirit—in the earth life, the complete dissolution of the imperfect body shall be the signal for the idiot's complete emancipation. His wrongs shall be righted—redressed—on the other side. Symmetry of form and fullness of mentality shall then triumph over that which was in the flesh a gross distortion—an abnormality. If this view be tenable, who knows but Pinel's girl-sheep may not in truth be the equal of Jeanne d'Arc? the man-monkey, described by Mitchell, a Webster or a Demosthenes in disguise? Or that the biped and hairless ruminant, cases of which Dr. Maudsley says are so numerous, may not in reality possess a mind superior to that eloquent writer himself? But, have we any right or warrant in science or philosophy to indulge such rose-water hopes for the destiny of those miserable wrecks of humanity? When assumption usurps the functions of observation and induction, where is the absurdity to which one is driven to end? The view we present of the subject may not be especially consoling to brainless people, nor comforting to their relations and friends. But one should seek truth in philosophy, not consolation; and treat nature as though she had functions to perform other than those of doing the bidding and correcting the blunders of those puny creatures in human form who aspire to be men and women, in total disregard of the conditions which infinite Wisdom prescribed. Let such people seek in religion the commiseration they can never hope to find in science or philosophy.

The evidence drawn from analogy, however, not only associates and identifies the character of an individual with the size, quality and condition of his brain and nervous system, but also connects his special attributes of mind with corres-

ponding sensori—thinking and sensori-motor centres. Hence, for every distinct, mental attribute, there must be a corresponding centre from whose function the attribute or psychical power is derived, or to which it is related. Dr. Alexander Ecker, of Baden, an eminent anatomist, commits himself to this view unreservedly. He writes: "That the cortex of the cerebrum, the undoubted material substratum of our intellectual activity, is not a single organ which enters into action as a whole with every psychical function, but consists rather of a multitude of organs, each of which subserves definite intellectual processes, is a view which presents itself to us almost with the force of an axiom. The opposite hypothesis of a single organ for the multiplicity of the intellectual functions, would mark a standpoint about equally advanced with the abandoned conception of a 'vital force.' If, however, as we think is undoubtably true, definite portions of the cerebral cortex subserve definite intellectual processes, there is a possibility that we may some day attain a complete organology of the brain surface, a science of the localization of the cerebral functions. Such a science—that is, a knowledge of the psychical organs of the brain in all their relations—is certainly one of the most important problems for the anatomy and physiology of the next century, the solution of which will work no small transformation in psychology."*

Moreover, there is good reason to believe that the powers of thought, and, indeed, of all the higher elements of mind, are associated with the grey substance of the cerebrum; that the existence of one is consensual with the other. The manner in which conscience or ideas are generated or evolved by the

* *Cerebral Convolutions*, pp. 7–8. It is interesting to note that Dr. Ecker's able monograph was published prior to Dr. Ferrier's experiments, to which reference has been made, and which go so far to prove the correctness of that author's generalizations.

Dr. Brown-Séquard does not give in his adhesion to this doctrine of special localization of sensori-motor centres in the hemispheres. M Charcot, the eminent pathologist, however, gives it his cordial endorsement. See the discussion of the subject between these and other distinguished physicians before *La Société de Biolgie*, Paris, in December, 1875, as reported in *The Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases*, pp. 337–8–9. April, 1876.

little cells of the grey cortex must for ever be an insoluble mystery; no more so, however, than are the molecular changes in the wires of an electric telegraph. Professor Griesinger, who is skeptical, alike of materialistic hypotheses respecting the nature of mind, and of the utility of transcendental views in its interpretation, observes that it is absolutely incomprehensible "how a material, physical act in the nerve-fibres or cells, can be converted into an idea, an act of consciousness."* And so it is. But is it not even more incomprehensible how an idea, or an act of consciousness could be evolved without the agency of the nerve-fibres or nerve-cells? We think so. Of two inscrutable hypotheses the rational mind naturally accepts that which seems the most rational, or which has the most plausible reasons in its support.

So, likewise, the hypothesis gains credence daily that the white substance of the cerebrum is the seat of conscious volitions. The fact that it is composed of minute fibres, instead of cells, and that these fibres may be traced up to the grey substance and down to decussations with those of the medulla oblongata and the analogous substance of the spinal marrow, whence they decussate with motory nerve-fibres from the extremities, lends anatomical support to that view. Moreover, experiments with the electro-magnetic current upon etherized animals give additional support to the hypothesis, carry the matter beyond the hypothetical, almost into the domain of demonstration. If the well-known experiments of Dr. Ferrier, of England, to which we refer, prove anything regarding the functions of the cerebrum, it is that of localizing the higher motor-nerve centres in the cerebral hemispheres, and the subsistence of a plurality of such centres, not only in respect of co-ordinating muscular actions, but also in respect of purely mental, or sensori-motor impulses. We have not space in the present article to give the details of the experiments of Dr. Ferrier, which go so far to prove the truth of this doctrine; nor is it necessary to recapitulate them, as they are easily accessible to every one interested in the subject.†

‡ *Mental Pathology*, &c., p. 5.

* *Vide* Vols. III and IV, *Medical Reports of the West Riding Lunatic Asylum.*

Thus does the slow and toilsome progress of science confirm the deductive conclusions of the thinkers and philosophers—the true pioneers of discovery. The learned Dr. Gall, nearly half a century ago, boldly contended for the doctrine of sensori-centres, or organs, as he called them, in the brain, conformable to the physiology of his day; and if he and his learned but much derided confrères were in error respecting their precise seat and nature, they were not altogether wrong in the broad generalizations of the truth itself. They saw dimly and imperfectly what others shall see clearly and distinctly. Genius is usually the discoverer of truth; induction follows on with slow verification.

ART. II.—1. *History of Greece.* By BISHOP THIRLWALL. 1846.

2. *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians.* By T. G. WILKINSON.

3. *Life and Work at the Great Pyramid.* By C. P. SMITH. 1867.

THE influence which the geographical position of nations or tribes of men has had on the growth of their civilization opens up to us a subject of too extended a nature to be justly and fully treated within the limits of a single article, or in truth within the limits of a single book. For it is evident that climate, the fertility of the soil, the luxuriance of nature and the rigor of her phenomena are all intimately connected with geographical position, and must, therefore, in a complete analysis of this influence, receive each a full share of consideration. We shall, however, limit our atten-

tion for the present to geographical position in the narrowest acceptation of the term and consider in what way the occupation of long stretches of seabord, of river valleys, of inland regions and of islands has retarded or advanced the growth of civilization. We shall attempt to trace the influence of these seemingly trivial causes both in the manners and customs of nations, and in the development of their arts and sciences; in the rise and prosperity of great cities and in the origin and spread of opinions both philosophical and religious.

In a general way, indeed, the influence of geographical position has been acknowledged by all classes of writers from the earliest times. It has been observed that a great extent of coast line with safe harbor and ports, and a fine system of inland navigation, are not without palpable effect on the progress of national industry and the increase of national wealth. It has been remarked that the seats of ancient civilization, both in the Old World and in the New, were along the banks of great rivers, or on the shores of great lakes, and that even in modern days the richest, the most populous, the most renowned cities of the world are without exception at the mouth or on the banks of some navigable river, or on the shore of some open sea. Time and again it has been remarked that the most opulent spots that have ever existed on the face of the earth have been spots the least favored by nature, but have invariably been washed by the waters of the sea. It was upon a bare and sterile crag, surrounded by the deep sea, that the descendants of a few poor fishermen piled the streets of Tyre to a dizzy height, and founded a city into whose warehouses were gathered the tin of Britain and the odorous gums of Arabia, the linen of Egypt and the gold of Lydia and of Spain; whose harbor bristled with the masts of a thousand vessels that had weathered the storms of the Euxine and the Atlantic; whose merchants wore the robes of Persian satraps and founded powerful and opulent colonies in the most distant parts of the then known world. Again, it was upon a muddy bank in a dreary lagoon formed of the mud which the Alpine torrents brought with them to the sea, that there arose the marts and palaces of Venice, whose magnificence was the envy

of the world. And finally, in a still less favored region, in a little strip of country scarcely larger than the principality of Wales, on a dreary coast covered with sand dunes and overhung with fogs and mists, without wood, without stone, without water fit to drink; on a desolate swamp exhaling diseases and protected by the fury of the sea by mud banks and dikes, was founded the most prosperous community the world has yet seen. All this has indeed been noticed, but the reason *why* it all happened has received but a very small share of attention. But the reason is not hard to find. The prosperity is the result of that mental activity and love of physical adventure which is nowhere so vigorous as among people who dwell by the sea.

The sea, indeed, is a wonderful civilizer, and no people possessed of a long stretch of coast line, with safe ports and harbors, can long resist its influence. It prompts them in the earliest stage of their progress from barbarism to civilization, to adopt a roving and piratical life; to build boats and sail forth to the neighboring shores for the purposes of plunder and rapine. In a stage yet more advanced, when the love of war has given way to the love of opulence and ease, the pirate becomes the trader: a commercial spirit is awakened which almost invariably leads to the foundation of distant colonies. Such a state of things is in the highest degree conducive to intellectual, and consequently to social development, through the constant stimulant it furnishes to intellectual activity. Even in our own day foreign travel is conceded to be a great educator and civilizer of men. The traveler is constantly transported into new states of society. He sees new fashions. He hears new modes of expression. He is familiarized with new modes of thought. His mind is enlarged by contemplating the wide diversities of laws, of morals, and of manners, and he thus learns to correct that patriotic egotism invariably found in men who have never stirred from their own market town, or gone beyond the boundaries of their native land. But in an early age and among a people just emerging from complete barbarism, when histories and books of travel do not exist, and when every country is indeed an unknown land, it acts with tenfold

strength and vigor. On such a people every object met with in other countries impresses itself with a peculiar force. The color of the skin, the sound of the voice; the shape of the boats and the instruments of agriculture and of war; the food that is eaten, the clothes that are worn, every national custom and every domestic usage, nay, even the strange foliage of the trees and the plumage of the birds are beheld with the liveliest interest, and excite their wonder to the highest pitch. And thus, by the constant contemplation of such a diversity of strange sights and sounds, the mind is aroused and stimulated to a degree of activity that can never be attained by men accustomed all their life to behold the same objects of nature, to see about them the same familiar faces, and to hear the same familiar voices. It makes little difference what may be the motive which, among a barbarous people, produces this travel. Whether their purposes be those of plunder or of trade, they are in either case brought face to face with new scenes and new lands, while that boldness which springs from constant success leads them on still more distant voyages and presents them with yet more diversified scenes.

The influence of a great extent of coast line on the creation of commerce and colonization, and in turn the influence of commerce and colonization on intellectual activity, cannot, perhaps, be better studied than in the early history of ancient Greece, as it was in Greece that commerce was first developed on an important scale, and that colonization was first carried on to an extent that has rarely been surpassed. For such purposes, indeed, Greece is admirably situated. In a climate the most delightful in the world; washed by the waters of a fine and pleasant sea, it possesses a coast line greater than that of the Pyrenean peninsular, with an area of land surface less than the area of Portugal.* From the southern headlands of

* "Less in area than Portugal, continental Greece alone has a coast line equal to that of the whole Pyrenean peninsular." Cox's *Hist. of Greece*, p. 4.

"Altogether its area is somewhat less than that of Portugal." Grote's *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. II, p 302. See also Thirwall's *Hist. of Greece*, Vol. I, p. 2. "But even if we add all the islands, its square contents are a third less than those of Portugal." Heeren's *Ancient Greece*, p. 16.

Attica stretch away a chain of islands which gird Delos with an irregular belt, and then in a waving line runs off to the Sporades, a scattered group of islands bordering on the Asiatic coast. To the south of these, and filling up the interval between the two continents, are the famous islands of Crete and Rhodes, while separated by a narrow channel from the coast of Laconia is the island of Cythera, from which, on a clear day, the snow white summits of Cretan Ida are distinctly visible. From here, in turn, the eye can reach to the Rhodian Abydos and the high mountains of Asia Minor. Between these points the whole ocean is filled with a scattered mass of smaller islands. On the eastern coast again the Iapygian peninsular and Epirus are separated by a channel of but thirty miles in width, and so clear is the atmosphere that the coast of Italy may be seen not only from the mountains of Corcyra, but from the headlands of the Ceraunian hills. The ancient Greeks were thus in possession of a vast coast line, of abundant harbors, and could sail to the shores of Asia Minor, of Italy, of Sicily, of Africa, without going out of sight of land. No people ever possessed greater facilities for commerce. None ever turned them to a better use.

At the earliest dawn of reliable tradition the Phœnicians appear as the great maritime people and the masters of the Mediterranean Sea, while the Greeks appear as pirates and freebooters, sailing along the coasts from town to town, from island to island, plundering, burning, devastating, and carrying off women and children as slaves. Although these piratical excursions were characteristic of the Greeks till long after the beginning of the sixth century before Christ, they seem to have early developed a strong taste for commerce, and we find in 1250 B. C. a few hardy adventurers sailing round the Euxine and creating a profitable traffic in fish, and corn, and gold. Encouraged by this feat, the commercial spirit of the Greeks rose high and we find them trading, and especially plundering in all parts of the Ægean Sea. Minos, king of Crete, attempts to suppress these piracies, but fails. His example is followed with like success by the Lydians, the Thracians, and the

Rhodians. In the time of Homer, all the Mediterranean, within a line joining Attica with Crete, was familiar to the Greek merchants, but the coast of Italy remained unexplored. In the meantime, however, civilization had begun. The rare fertility, the mineral products, the rich fruits, and pleasant climate of the many islands and coasts visited by the early navigators, the stories of strange sights and the rich cargoes brought home, were inducements too strong to be long resisted by the crowded and poor population of Greece. Undoubtedly many of the stories of colonies led out by younger sons of kings and aspiring nobles, are founded on some grain of truth, but if so, it is so mixed up with the favorite myth of the Dawn and the Sun as to be lost forever. The earliest colonies sent out by Greece, which may, therefore, safely be looked on as historical, are those which grew out of the invasion of Bœotia by the Æolians, and of Peloponnesus by the Dorians.* The colonists forming the Æolian migration settled first at Lesbos, where they founded six cities, and then passed on to the Asiatic coast, to settle at points reaching from the foot of Ida to the mouth of the Hermes. They in turn were speedily followed by the Ionian colonists, who seized positions along the coast from the Hermes to the Meander and founded the twelve colonies of Samos, Chios, Miletus, Myers, Priene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Tero, Erythrae, Clazomene and Phocæa. Almost at the same time with these operations, the south-western end of Asia Minor was seized by a different band of colonists who founded cities in Crete and Rhodes. Then came the Dorians who founded Helicarnassus, and the Laconians who founded Cindus, while before the close of the first century after the Æolian migration, the colony of Cyprus was fully established. Then followed a long interval of rest, which seems indeed to mark the close of this eastward movement. But the colonists were not idle. Their vessels covered the whole Archipellago. Their merchants traded at every port,

*"But the earliest Greek colonies which can safely be pronounced historical, were those which issued out of the event, or rather series of events, commonly called the Æolian migration." Thirlwall's *Hist. of Greece*, vol. II, p. 82.

from Asia Minor to Greece. Their boldness increased and a band from Miletus, now grown to be an important trading city, sailed entirely around the Euxine and changed its name from the Inhospitable to the Hospitable sea—the Euxine.

Thus by the time Greece was again able to send off her populations as colonists, the daring of her colonial mariners had carried them to the coasts of Sicily and Italy, and when colonization again set in it turned off to the west. In the course of the first century after the establishment of the Olympiads, this movement commences in the founding of colonies in Sicily and along the southeastern shores of Italy. Naxos was founded in 735 B. C. A year later Syracuse, renowned as the birth-place of the most marvellous of men, was built, and within fifty years from this, all the colonies in Italy were fairly started. And now another impetus was given to this western movement by the Phocœans, who launched out boldly beyond Sicily, sailed up the western coast of Italy, explored the western basin, and ultimately founded the great city of Marseilles. They had previously sailed round the Adriatic and brought back cargoes of the far famed Pomeranian amber from the mouth of the Po. The influence of all this was irresistible. In the thirty-fifth Olympiad, Coleos of Samos sailed through the gateway of Hercules, reached Tarlessus and carried thence the most valuable cargo ever imported by a merchant of Greece.

So was it that the favoring conditions of geographical position, coupled with a vast extent of coast line, made the Greeks from the earliest times a nation of mariners, and tempted them to colonization and to commerce. It now remains to hastily review a few of the consequences of this commerce and colonization.

From this time forth the whole Mediterranean was open to Greek commerce and colonization. In these days the merchant owned his vessel, was his own captain, and sailed from port to port selling his cargo at each by auction and taking in a fresh one of slaves, of mineral products, or of articles of manufacture. He bought tin from the Cassiterides; amber from the Baltic, and rich dyes from Syria. From the colonies

again went forth corn for Athens and oil for Carthage, while in the mother country ship-building was almost exclusively carried on. Of this commercial intercourse one of the first results was that the colonies fast became prodigiously rich, and the means was thus created out of which to support in idleness a class of men without which intellectual progress was hopeless indeed. Travel into foreign countries, the seeing of new sights, of strange manners, the hearing of new languages, the curious cargoes and wonderful stores, the strange animals brought home in the merchant ships, awakened the curiosity and corrected the narrow mindedness of the colonists. Their geographical discoveries had shaken their faith in the truth of the old myths. In their traffic with other nations, they had not failed to see that each had its own peculiar ideas of merit and defect, its own peculiar habits and customs, its own system of law, and they had then learned, as every commercial nation has since learned, to hold in light esteem prescribed opinions and to put all things at their true value. They grew tolerant, inquisitive, eager to learn. In place of devoting all their intellectual energy to the construction of ships, to the purchase and sale of corn and oil and wine and slaves, they turned to the discussion of religious topics, to the study of rhetoric, to the writing of histories, to the composition of poems, but, above all, to the cultivation of exact science. In truth, there is no stronger evidence of the intensity of the intellectual activity that now appeared in the colonies than the fact that the beginning of philosophy, of mathematics, of all the arts and sciences which afterwards made up the great glory of Greece, was made by her colonies in the Ægean Sea.

To give but a few examples, the earliest of Greek geometers, the man who, in the sense in which we now use the term, may be called the father of all mathematical sciences, was Thales, a native of the famous colony of Miletus. From the few and scanty accounts of this great man that have come down to us, it is quite impossible to dispel the obscurity that covers his life and works, nor is it easy, from the little we do possess, to separate what is strictly true, from the large amount of fable with which it is mingled. After he had been many years in

his grave, his vainglorious countrymen, proud of his genius and his works, delighted to ascribe to him wisdom almost preternatural, and to boast of achievements for the accomplishment of which the necessary knowledge did not then exist. But, whatever may have been his achievements in these respects, geometry owes to him the discovery of those three * simple, yet beautiful truths, which, after the lapse of so many generations, are still counted among the few examples of unimpeachable truth. To these elementary discoveries others were added by Anaximander of Miletus, who wrote an "Introduction to Geometry;" by Pythagoras of Samos, who gave that famous theorem for which he is said to have sacrificed a hecatomb, and by Democritus of Abdera. Anaxagoras of Clazomene, the friend and master of Pericles, Euripides and Socrates, investigated the quadrature of the circle; and Hippocrates of Chios entered on a train of study that resulted in the measurement of a *lune*. Archimedes, whose name is still mentioned with respect and gratitude in every part of the civilized globe, was a native of Syracuse. He too treated of the quadrature of the circle and determined the ratio of the circumference to within .0012 of the truth, and wrote on conoids and spheroids, or spheres and cylinders, and came as near the discovery of differential calculus as was possible without the aid of algebra. Eratosthenes, who catalogued the stars, determined the interval between the tropics and attempted to measure the earth, was a native of Syene. Apollonius of Perga, called by the Greeks "The Great Geometer," was the first to introduce the words hyperbola and ellipse, while his book on Maxima and Minima is to this day regarded as one of the noblest efforts of Greek geometry.

Nor was it alone in mathematics that the colonies manifested this intellectual superiority to the mother country. It was in the colonies that medicine was first separated from religion, and the absurd mummeries of the Æsculapian temples forever

* These were, 1° That a circle is bisected by its diameter; 2° That the angles of the base of an izosceles triangle are equal to each other; 3° That two straight lines intersecting each other make the vertical angle at the point of intersection equal.

ended. The great schools were at Cos, at Cnidos, at Pergamos, Smyrna, at Laodicea. Hippocrates, whose writings won for him, from his successors, the epithet of "The Divine Old Man," and from the moderns that of the "Father of Medicine," was a native of Cos. To him is most justly due the glory of having destroyed the theological doctrine of the nature of disease, of replacing it with practical and material ideas, and of compiling from the votive tablets, that hung in the temple of Æsculapius, a body of medicine. With him are to be classed Herophelus of Calcidon, a Greek colony of Bithynia; Philiston of Sicily, who wrote on the regimen for a person in health; and Praxagoras of Cos, who wrote on the pulse; Nicander of Colophon, who wrote on hygiene; Theophrastos of Eresos and Chrysippus of Soli, renowned teachers in the school at Cos; Thersalus of Tralles, who founded the Methodici; and Polybius of Cos, who established the rival sect of Dogmatici.

In history again the achievements of the colonists are not less enduring. Herodotus, whose great work is an authority with scholars, and is still read with delight by school-boys, was born at Helicarnassus, a Doric colony of Caria. Theopompus was of Chios, renowned as the birth-place of the mightiest of poets. Syracuse, boasted of Philistus and Agyrium of Diodorus Siculus, while Helicarnassus to the name of Heroditus added that of Dionysius, an historian of equal merit and renown. So, too, in painting, in sculpture, in architecture, it would be easy to draw up a list of names made illustrious by great works. In it would appear the name of Polynotas of Thasoo, and that of Zeuxis of Heraclea, who painted fruit so perfectly that the birds are said to have pecked it; and whose Helen was one of the wonders of ancient art. There would be the name of Scopas of Paros, whose Niobe is still to be seen in the gallery of Florence; and there too would be the name of Apelles of Cous, side by side with that of Praxiletes of Cindus, who represented the naked figure of woman. There finally would be the name of Scyllis, who first cut figures in marble, and that of Rhœsus, the builder of the famed temple at Samos. In philosophy again as in mathematics, in history, in medicine, in arts, and in rhetoric, the first glimmer appears

in the colonies. It is needless to run over the long list of men of colonial birth who make up the great schools of Greek philosophy. The first was the Ionic, founded by Thales of Miletus. Then came the Pythagorean, then the Eleatic and then the Megaric, each of them great colonial schools.

That the beginning of almost every art and every science which now makes up the glory of ancient Greece, should thus have been made in the colonies of the Ægean sea, is not by any means due to chance. It is not due to any peculiarity of race or of blood. It is not to be ascribed to special intellectual ability, nor to any peculiar formation of the brain. It is unmistakable evidence of a great stirring of the human mind, such as invariably follows some great national achievement or some national disaster. It is due solely to that intellectual activity, which was the inevitable consequence of their commerce, and this in turn is due to geographical position. Living in a land rich in harbors and in bays, and washed by a sea filled with islands of the most fertile soil; the Greeks began by free-booting and ended by colonizing, and colonization ended in commerce. Every city was a trading port into which came scores of vessels ladened with the products of the east and the west; with tin from Britain, and amber from the Baltic, to be exchanged for corn, or oil, or rare fabrics. Every street was filled with merchants eager to hear or to tell some new thing. That stagnation which settles down upon the country was here impossible. All was activity and bustle. The men of such cities were men of action; enterprising, courageous, persevering. Every merchant was his own captain; sailed his own ship; bought or sold his own goods. By travel his narrow-mindedness was corrected; his views of men and nations enlarged, and his inquisitiveness aroused. By the competition of trade, his shrewdness and his foresight were developed. But in time, as wealth increased rapidly, there appeared as there always must appear, a class of men who occupied their minds with other matter than the measuring of oil and wine, and the fabrication of helmets and shields. And then was it that the intellectual excitement which commerce produced began to bear its lasting fruit—the great men

whose names we have mentioned. It is customary, in our day, to talk much of the "mother minds," and the "leaders of the age," and to tell how this philosopher or that discoverer has created great revolutions, reformations or seditions; how he has changed the tone of public opinion and left the marks of his genius on the character of the age. But, in truth, while he seems to be the leader, he is, in reality, the product of the time; and his work the sure indication of some great but silent cause that has stirred the minds of men to their inmost depth. Great men, like great revolutions, are not the product of a moment; do not appear with the suddenness of a thunderclap; are of slow but certain growth. Old customs, old prejudices and opinions, long established and revered, cannot be overcome in a day. New philosophies, new theories, new inventions, are always bitterly opposed. When, therefore, we see some great thinker arise, set forth some new doctrine in religion, or some new theory in science; when we see followers gather about him, adopt his opinions, and spread them day by day, we may be sure that the innovation he proposes has long been waited for, that the theory he illustrates has long been ripening. And so when we see the Greek colonial cities swarming with men founding schools of medicine and art, writing histories, teaching mathematics, and boldly speculating in the origin of life, we may rest assured there has been a long preparation for all this. If the men of Athens, of Sparta, of Corinth, had reached that stage of intellectual development which the colonists reached before them, we should never have had the Ionian, the Eleatic, the Megaric schools of philosophy. The renowned schools of medicine would have been at Athens, not at Cos, at Cindus, Smyrna and Laodicea. The great art schools would have been at Corinth, not at Sicyon and Rhodes, while the famous mathematicians and historians would, without exception, have been natives of Attica or Argos, and not of the colonies whose possessions stretched along the shores of Asia Minor and covered the islands of the Ægean Sea. But the time for the appearance of men illustrious in every branch of art and science came sooner in the colonies than in the mother country, and it came sooner in the colonies

because a great and varied commerce first produced that intellectual activity; that perpetual stirring without which the finest minds will speedily settle down into hopeless stagnation. Such, in brief, are a few of the effects, on Greek civilization, of a vast extent of coast line, of her geographical position in the midst of long chains of islands which promoted colonization, which encouraged commerce, and served ultimately as the pathway of Egyptian learning, as six centuries later it served as the pathway of Christianity.

Turning now to Egypt, which served as the great storehouse of Greek intellectual food, we find civilization in the Nile country bearing yet more distinctly the traces of geographical influence. The country, indeed, was almost the reverse of Greece in physical feature. It possessed but one long, mysterious river, that rose and fell with the regularity of the sun. It possessed almost no coast line, and on the three remaining sides was shut in by mountains and a trackless desert of sand. Everything combined to render the Egyptian an exclusive, uncommercial nation. Yet, of all African countries, Egypt alone possessed the condition requisite for an indigenous civilization —a rich soil, an abundant food, a warm and *rainless* climate, all of which she owed to her geographical position. The vast importance of a rainless climate, as an element in civilization, has rarely been touched upon, yet it is a fact worthy of much thought, that civilization is indigenous in those countries alone, where rain is never known, or it is at most of but rare and regular occurrence. Such was Babylonia and Assyria, Egypt and Persia. Nor is it difficult to see why the absence or regular occurrence of rain is a matter of such importance to the indigenous growth of civilization. All students and historians of pre-historic nations have, almost without one dissenting voice, pronounced agriculture to be the first step from poverty and barbarism towards wealth and enlightenment. For under no other circumstances can food become abundant. Under no other circumstances can a tribe of men cease to be a roving or nomadic, and become a settled people. In most countries, however, the cultivation of the soil is most uncertain. From the time the seed is placed in the ground to the

time when the grain is ready for the sickle, the meteorological variations are so many and so great that no skill can assure, and no science can predict the annual yield of the fields. Without any premonition, the crops may be withered and cut off by long continued drought, or rotted by excessive rains; swept away by freshets or devoured by insects. From seed time to harvest the labor of the husbandman is indeed at the tender mercy of the winds and clouds. But in Egypt, agriculture, protected by lofty mountains and parched deserts from those destructful agents, early became so precise that it might well have been called a mathematical art. In Egypt, there are no floods or freshets. In Egypt, no rain ever falls. But when the bright dog star Sireus rises with the sun, the mysterious, sourceless Nile begins to swell, a calm and tranquil inundation slowly covers the land, at once watering, and by the slime deposited, enriching it. If, when the waters have reached their height, the Nilometer, which mesures the depth of the inundation, indicates eight cubits, the harvest at best will be but a scanty one. But if it reaches fourteen cubits, the harvest will be plentiful. Thus, before a single seed was planted, while the waters still cover the fields and gardens, the Egyptian husbandman knew with absolute certainty how abundant would be his harvest. *

Under such conditions, the people early became and have ever since remained pre-eminently an agricultural one. † Of all the occupations of life, that of war alone excepted, agriculture was in their eyes the noblest; that of pastor the most debasing. The gulf that separated the farmer from the king, broad as it was, appeared narrow in comparison with that dividing the farmer from the herdsman. To follow the plough, to scatter the seed, to reap the harvest and bind the sheaves, were occupations in which the soldier, from whose class the king, when not of the priestly order, must be selected, might and indeed was encouraged to indulge. But the shepherd who tended the flocks, the herdsman who watered the cattle, and

* Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, 2d series, vol. I, p. 10.

† *Id.*, vol. I, p. 4.

the swineherd who carried husks to the hogs, were men of a different order, and creatures of a different race. * Too ignoble to dwell under the same roof, to eat of the same food, to sit upon the same rug; too defiled to pray in the same temple; a class undeserving the notice of God or man.

It is easy to imagine that, in a country whose soil was so rich and whose people were so devoted to agriculture, food of the kind well suited to the warmth of the climate was plentiful and cheap.† In truth, in no land were vegetables ‡ more abundant than in Egypt. There was the onion and the garlic; odorous herbs which the priests alone were forbidden to eat; the lotos and the papyrus that sprung spontaneously, with the flies and lizards, from the rich slime of the Nile; an endless succession of corn fields and wheat fields, and a wonderful profusion of plants and herbs whose character can only be surmised from the writings of the ancient historians and the carvings on the tombs of ancient kings. Nor were the bean and the rice plant unknown. Indeed, so inexhaustible was the supply of vegetables, that when on Friday, the first of the month of Moharra, the city of Alexandria fell into Saracen hands, there were in that city above twelve thousand sellers of herbs, and such were the stores of wheat sent back on camels to Medina, that the Arabic historian declares, in the lofty style of Eastern poetry, that the first of an unbroken line of camels had entered the gates of the holy city before the last had quitted the land of Egypt. §

There is, however, one article of food that surpasses in abundance all others. What rice is to the most fertile parts of Asia, what the banana is to Peru, what the bread-fruit is to the islands of the south sea, the date is to Africa. The

* "The pastors were looked upon by the rest of the Egyptians as a degraded class who followed a disgraceful calling." Wilkinson's *Ancient Egypt.*, Vol. II, p. 15; see also p. 17. Also Herodotus, Vol. II, p. 47.

† Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 369 and 371. Pliny, xxi, 15.

‡ For vegetables of Egypt see Abel-Allatif, *Relations de l'Egypte*, p. 16-36, and pp. 37-134, Notes of De Sacy.

§ Wilkinson's *Anc. Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 372. See also Vol. I, p. 277; Vol. II, p. 60.

palm tree that bears this fruit is found in every country from the Tigris to the Atlantic, from the equator to the Mediterranean. It grows in the oasis of Fezzan. It springs up spontaneously in the valley of the Nile, where it supplies millions of human beings with their daily food. It occupies so little land that two hundred trees may be planted on a single acre; is so cheap that an entire date-palm is scarcely worth the quarter of a dollar, and so fruitful that its fruit forms not only the chief sustenance of the people but the food of camels and asses, of dogs and fowls.* In the Saïd grows a food which multiplies itself even more rapidly than dates or rice. This is the dhourra, which, without cultivation and without care, yields to the laborers a return of two hundred and forty for one, and costs in general not over four cents the bushel.†

In Egypt, then, the great law of food came into uncontrolled operation, and the growth of the population was mightily stimulated. The richness of the soil supplied an abundant food; the absence of rain made the crop certain; the heat of the climate rendered little food and little clothing necessary, thus extending by a double process the limit of population. But of all the orders of society affected by this powerful and active agent, that of the laborer was the most affected. Under the rays of a fierce sun, in a climate where even in the month of January the thermometer rarely falls to 70°, the slightest dress became to the workman all but unendurable. Little, therefore, was worn. His children went stark naked, and to raise them from infancy to maturity did not cost more than twenty drachmas,‡ a sum which, in our money, is exceeded by three dollars, a circumstance justly noticed by Diodorus Siculus as the cause of the populousness of the land. In truth, the number of the Egyptians seems at this day all but fabulous. From a geographical point of view,

* Richardson's *Travels in the Sahara*, Vol. II, p. 323.

† "The return is in general not less than two hundred and forty for one, and the average price is about 3s. 9d. the ardeb, which is scarcely 3d. per bushel." Hamilton's *Ægyptica*, p. 420.

‡ Diodorus Siculus. *Bibliothec. Hist.*, book 1, cap. lxxx, Vol. I, p. 238. Bissonl, 1793-1807.

their country is altogether insignificant. Yet, such as it is, it constitutes the land of Khâm, renowned to the ends of the earth for the magnificence of its ruined cities, for its rivers more mysterious than its hieroglyphics, and its monuments more enduring than brass. Beginning at the cataract of Essuan, at the sacred island of Philae, it stretched away to the Mediterranean, a long narrow valley that broadened as it neared the sea. At no point does its breadth exceed ten and three-quarter miles. It often narrows down to two. Its average is not more than five. The entire area of Egypt is much below eight thousand square miles. Yet, so unbounded was the fertility of the soil, that in the days of Egypt's greatness, it sustained a population of seven millions of souls, and bristled with the temples and palaces of twenty thousand cities.*

Thus geographical position gave to Egypt an abundant food, and abundant food, joined with the heat of the climate, produced an enormous population, which, in its turn, was followed by an unequal distribution of wealth and power. It is true that, respecting the early Egyptians, our information is at best but fragmentary and incomplete. Yet, such as we possess is in the highest degree correct. It has not been deciphered for us from the writings of ancient historians whose minds were warped, or whose judgments were blinded by national vanity and national prejudice. It has not been transmitted to us as the result of the combined studies of generations of antiquarians, and tinged with their enthusiastic admiration or contempt. It is found recorded by the Egyptians themselves, with the utmost minuteness of details, on the walls of their palaces and their tombs. Indeed, in this respect no people has ever left us so exact a narrative of their manners, their customs, their dress and daily life. Among modern nations this valuable information is either altogether lost, or only to be gleaned from the writings of some humble topographer well pleased to treat of subjects beneath the dignity of historians long since deservedly forgotten; from casual remarks in the diaries and letters of private individuals;

* *Herodotus*, book 2, cap. clxxvii.

from old pamphlets, news letters, lampoons, or the memoirs of distinguished foreigners who, having gone in state to a few fine sights, and having held formal conferences with a few state dignitaries, imagine they have seen the nation whose customs they describe. But among the old Egyptians nothing was too great, nothing was too insignificant to escape notice; all is recorded. They show us how the king was crowned, and how he made war. How the captives were taken and how they were treated; how rewards were distributed and punishment inflicted; how great lords hunted and fished; how great ladies embroidered and wove; how little children played with their dolls and toys. How the farmer held his plough and scattered his seed, reaped his barley and thrashed his wheat; how the beef was killed, how the feast was made and how the guests acted at the feast.

Yet, throughout these entire scenes, there is not a single instance of a peasant enjoying or working for himself in the shade of his own vine. Every feddar of land, from the sacred island to the sea, is owned by the king, the priests and the nobles, who have graciously assigned to every man his task, some to plough, some to carve, some to toil in the quarries and some to make brick without straw. But if a peasant attempts to change his occupation, to meddle in political affairs, to introduce any improvement, though it be but a handle to a hammer, if he shows the least independence of look, of thought, of action, he is laid by his heels and soundly bastinadoed.* All that is expected from the laborer is complete submission and unremitting labor. To him the sovereign master of all things has given the inestimable blessing of serving the rich without depreciating their merits. The task-master is always present; his eye is always upon them, and his hand falls heavily on the weak, the crippled and the weary.† They are kept well up to their work by that excellent rule the Chinese boatmen are said to apply to their ducks. The duck coming home not slowly, not absolutely

* Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 9, also p. 8.

† Smith, *Life and Works at the Great Pyramid*, Vol. III, p. 385.

late, but relatively last, is killed. The workman whose work makes the least show at the end of a long day of toil, is laid on the ground and well flogged by his fellow workmen acting under orders, and whose turn may come with the morrow. Young damsels are beaten by the orders of their mistress, and cripples sit at work with the inscription over them: "Slaves born in the house, on the books of the house forever." *

That in such a state of society as this much regard should be paid to human suffering would be idle to expect. In truth, human material appears to have been held at the cheapest possible rate. Not a labor-saving machine is to be seen. Men carry huge stones on their backs †; they drag enormous blocks up inclined planes ‡; they carve colossi and obelisks of prodigious height and of single stones, and raise them erect upon their everlasting pedestals. Two thousand men spend three years in carrying stone from Elephantine to Sais.‖ Three hundred and sixty thousand more spend twenty years in building a single pyramid,§ while the lives of one hundred and twenty thousand are expended in digging the Red Sea canal.¶ The whole face of the land is covered with costly buildings and stupendous structures which no wealth, however great; no expenditure, however lavish, could have sufficed to meet, if the labor of every workman was rewarded with a fair and honest recompense. There must have been tyranny on the part of the rulers, and slavery on the part of the people.

It has been truly said that no people have any idea of liberty who do not navigate the sea. At first sight the statement may seem to be too sweeping to admit of proof, but it is nevertheless a just one. Thus, for instance, if we compare

* Smith, *Life, etc., at the Great Pyramid*, Vol. III, p. 380.

† Bunsen, *Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 379.

‡ *Vyse on the Pyramids*, Vol. I, p. 197; Vol. III, pp. 14, 38.

‖ Heroditus, book ii, chap. clxxv.

§ Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, Vol. I, p. 70.

¶ Diodorus Siculus, book 1, chap. lxiii.

the political life of countries cut off from the sea, with the political life of great maritime nations, we shall find, however strange it may appear, that we have slavery and despotism on the one hand, and republicanism and personal liberty on the other. The Indian, the Assyrian, the Babylonian, the Chaldean, the Egyptian monarchies, each arose among a people cut off from the navigation of the sea. Each people grew up, acquired wealth and power, and finally reached and for centuries maintained a degree of civilization but little lower than that of our day. Yet, not one of these, ever at any time in the whole course of its history, possessed a government that approached in the smallest degree to a republican form of government. Not one of them has ever shown the faintest conception of popular liberty. Indeed, an eminent scholar, of fine parts and learning, whose knowledge of Eastern history gives to his statement the authority of law, assures us that no where throughout the prodigious literature of India, can there be found so much as one short sentence expressive of the love of liberty.

On the other hand there is scarcely a nation of Europe whose domain is washed by the sea, that has not at one time or another in its history been actually established as a republic, Such has been the case with Greece, with Rome, with Spain, with Holland, with England, with France, with Ireland. Italy, in the time of her greatest prosperity, when her harbors bristled with masts, when her ships entered every sea, when her merchants traveled in every land, was a mass of free cities, of republics, of independent towns. Of the influence of commerce and the lack of it, in this respect, no better examples can be had than Greece and Egypt. What the commerce of Greece was we have already noticed. Egypt possessed none at all. Down to the days of Psammetichos indeed, Egypt, old and hoary and civilized as she was, had never possessed one single ship. A few boats with highly colored sails that passed up and down the placid Nile was all she had. Strangers were forbidden to enter the land. As a consequence therefore, that intellectual activity, that social stirring, the busy life, the inquisitiveness and all the benefits that came to Greece from

her great commerce never came to Egypt. There all was stagnation. All went on in the same changeless, humdrum way year after year, generation after generation. The Greek gained his notions of liberty from the sea; from the free, joyous, unstrained life of the sailor or the freebooter. The dangers he met with at sea strenghtened his courage. He became independent, manly, versatile; liberal in his views and cosmopolitan in his feeling. The Egyptian shut in by the mountains and the desert; living in a narrow valley from where nothing could induce him to go out, and into which he allowed no stranger to come, and holding it impious to sail upon the waters of the sea, became narrow-minded, egotistical, and a slave. All his knowledge and refinement never infused into his selfish mind the smallest conception of individual rights and popular liberty; never convinced him that nations existed for any other purpose than to increase the power and the glory, and to obey without murmuring the commands of established kings. So far back as we can go in the annals of this strange people, and we can go back more than four thousand years, there never existed a time when the people enjoyed the smallest share in the government, or when considerations of their good or of their prosperity exercised the least influence on the policy of their rulers. Never yet have they possessed a great national council, nor afforded a single example of a monarch assembling a body of delegates, selected by his subjects, to consult with him on the expediency of adopting certain public measures, or of framing certain laws. Throughout this whole region men vegetated for thousands of years; they made good farmers; they made good task-masters; they were splendid slaves and drudges, but never did they at any time, even in the height of their greatness and their civilization, show the crudest notion of liberty.

Yet another consequence of the exclusiveness forced upon them by their geographical position was their reverence for antiquity, and unchangeableness in all social and domestic customs. They received no new ideas from without, and their minds, crushed and narrow, held with fondness to whatever was old. There was no such thing as innovation, because they

could conceive of nothing better than they had. As an implement of agriculture was first invented so it forever after remained. As the human face was first drawn with the front view of the eye in the profile, so it continued to be drawn to the last. The customs of one generation were the customs of the next; the dress of one century was the dress of the next. All invention of labor-saving machines, all progress in painting, in sculpture, in anything, was hopelessly cut off. Society itself became stagnant, and settled down into castes. In one sense, indeed, in the sense of hereditary transmission of functions or professions, the system of caste may be said to be as universal as the human race, and the instinctive tendency of all nascent civilizations to such a system may be looked upon as a fixed law of social dynamics. In a rude state of society, in an age when oral transmission forms the sole means of communicating conceptions, nothing can be more natural than that by domestic imitation, the earliest and most powerful means of education, employments should descend from father to son. It is in this way alone that the experience gained in one generation can be transmitted unimpaired to the next, to be in turn enlarged and handed down to the following. It is in this way alone that every form of industry, and every art and convenience of life can be improved and brought nearer and nearer to perfection, and it is in this sense that caste has not only been a necessary but a salutary institution; that it always has existed, does now, and though constantly diminishing will continue to exist for many generations yet to come. Its presence is clearly discernable in the early history of nations, and however much the modern form may differ from the ancient, its impress is not yet entirely worn away in the most advanced societies. It is alike apparent in the transmission from parent to child of kingly authority; of titles of nobility; in the distinction of rich and poor, high and low, learned and unlearned, and in the motive which in mercantile life leads the son to follow in the footsteps of his father. But between caste as it exists in Europe, and caste as it existed in Egypt and the East, there is a vast difference, not only of degree but of kind. The former in its most malignant form always pressed lightly on

those most nearly affected by it, always possessed an element of progress, and more than ten times outweighed by its good results, its most grievous evils. It was wholly voluntary. The reasons which in the middle ages made the son of a shoemaker a cobbler, or the son of a tinker the mender of pots and kettles, were not the commands of priests and sovereigns, but motives of expediency or of personal comfort. It was no more than reasonable to suppose that an ignorant man would succeed far better at a trade he had seen practised ever since he had seen anything than at one wholly new to him. But no law forbade him to change his occupation, or hedged it about with such curses that he did not dare even to marry out of it. Among the Egyptians, however, among the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Indians, confined as each was to the narrow valley of a great river, and separated from the rest of the world by sandy deserts, by impassable mountains and unsailable seas, caste assumed its most stable and vicious form. There it became compulsory. There it assumed the three-fold character of a religious, a political and a social institution. At the head of it stood the sacerdotal class, the repository of all learning, and the possessors of such a concentration of human power as is nowhere else to be met with. At the head of it stood the priest; then came the warrior; then the farmer; the artisan next, and last of all the herdsman, who, in Egypt, was deemed a being of the lowest grade: each caste taking rank according to its importance in the state, and each marked off by barriers which no power, human or divine, could ever overcome.

Thus was it that to geographical position the Greeks owed that great commerce and that wide spread colonization that made them the most intellectual, the liberal, the boldest in speculation, of all the nations of the ancient world. Thus is it that to geographical position the Egyptians owed that exclusiveness, that narrow-mindedness, that conservative spirit, that profound reverence for ancient customs and prescribed forms so apparent in their art, their dress, their government and religion, and which deprived them of all originality of thought, and all hope of improvement; which has made Egypt re-

nowned as a land where men vegetated for innumerable centuries, without producing a single revolution, or instituting a single reform, without producing one great poet, or one profound philosopher, or one artist worthy of the name; whose men for thousands of years never took one step forward, and never took one step back.

ART. III.—1. *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay.* By his Nephew, G. OTTO TREVELYAN, M. P. London. 1876.

2. *History of England.* By LORD MACAULAY.

3. *Essays.* By LORD MACAULAY. 2 vols.

Mr. Trevelyan has performed his part—by no means an easy one—skillfully, judiciously, and, as far as is possible for a nephew to be an unbiased critic of his favorite uncle, fairly. Indeed, however leniently he may have dealt with the literary performances of his uncle, there seems every reason to believe that the social qualities recorded in these pages deserve praise only. And when we reflect that Moore, the mere friend of Byron, on many occasions found it difficult to remain the impartial commentator, how much more must we view with indulgence the partiality of a nephew who was taught from the cradle to regard his uncle as the sum and centre of all perfection. Yet a strong sense of family modesty pervades these volumes. The editor seldom indulges in uncalled for eulogy, though he may at times withhold blame where it is due.

Notwithstanding that we are told by no less an authority than the acute Buffon, that "the style is the man," yet it not

unfrequently happens that, in estimating a man's nature by the light of his writings, we form of him a most erroneous judgment. Fond as Macaulay was of antitheses, we may in vain search his works for a more striking opposite than is displayed in comparing the conformation of his character and tastes, with the manner and matter of his literary productions. Indeed, in no author does there seem to have existed a more vivid contrast than we find in the single-mindedness and Arcadian simplicity of Macaulay's manner of living when compared to the luxurious richness of his style.

The organization of his mind, at an early age, was such that it must have ripened as rapidly as those hot-house plants which bloom at strange seasons. Yet this early fruitage of the mind did not impair its vigor. Every charm derived from elevation and tenderness of sentiment grew with it, and gradually produced the most refined and popular, if not the most accurate and acute writer of the age. Both in conversation and in writing, his language as a little child befitted a mature man. "Thanks, madam, the agony has abated," was his consoling remark at the age of eight, to a lady who bewailed the misfortune of having scalded his juvenile legs with a cup of tea. His correspondence at thirteen might well be envied by men of thirty. To chat with philosophers, to read Plato all night with his feet on the fender, to write Greek dialogues, these were the recreations of this youthful prodigy, at a time when most of his contemporaries were plodding over Cæsar and the Accidence. Yet, with all the early or late success which attended him, he seems to have been blessed with an inbred modesty, which seldom accompanies such marvellous attainments. In wealth and in poverty alike, in Great Ormond Street and at Holland House, in the cloisters of Trinity and the halls of Westminster, we find him always the same unassuming Macaulay.

It would indeed be dealing harshly with the memory of so eminent a literary character to rank his letters among his best performances. There undoubtedly is in Macaulay's letters a charm which is rarely met with; and when we consider that they were never, like Byron's, written for general

perusal, it might to some seem only fair that allowance should be made for this circumstance. But, on reflection, it is precisely this consideration which would expose Lord Macaulay's letters to a greater share of blame than they could have incurred had they been intended for publication. The studied and stately mannerisms, at length a second nature to him, mar the colloquial ease which we should naturally expect between parent and child, or brother and sister. We miss the delicacy of Cowper's letters, and the sparkling brilliancy and fund of wit and worldly knowledge so constantly cropping out in the correspondence of Lord Byron. There were in Macaulay's mind phases which must, in spite of himself, be apparent in all he did—phases at once as uncontrollable as they were evident, and which sometimes led him to write to his sister as he did for the *Edinburgh Review*. Thus in the following passage we should rather fancy ourselves reading the sketch of some great man in the History of England, than a familiar letter announcing the engagement of his sister Nancy:

"In this country he has distinguished himself beyond any man of his standing by his great talent for business, by his liberal and large views of policy, and by literary merit which, for his opportunity, is considerable. He was at first placed at Delhi under Sir Edward Holbrook, a very powerful and very popular man, but extremely corrupt. This man tried to initiate Trevelyan into his own infamous practices, but the young fellow's spirit was too noble for such things. When only 21 years of age he publicly accused Sir Edward, then almost at the head of the service, of receiving bribes from the natives. A perfect storm was raised against the accuser. He was almost everywhere abused and very generally cut. But with a firmness and ability scarcely ever seen in a man so young, he brought his proofs forward, and after an inquiry of some weeks, fully made out his case. Sir Edward was dismissed in disgrace, and is now living obscurely in England."

Here the manner is ill-suited to the matter; and in turning over these letters we not unfrequently meet with passages that incline to this stilted style, savoring strongly of short essays or sketches. In truth, Macaulay's faults are far less offensive to us in his books than in his correspondence.

What, then, is the charm, the undeniable charm, of these letters? It consists, we think, first in the constant allusion to

men of distinction whose names have become familiar to us in literary or public life, and last, but not least, in the display of a character whose every action, as Mr. Trevelyan so aptly says, "was as clear and transparent as one of his own sentences," and a heart ever tuned to goodness and loving kindness.

There seems small reason to doubt that Macaulay's after-fame will in a great measure, if not entirely, rest on his valuable contributions to English history. He was, as is generally granted, one of the pioneers among later writers of modern history, and it is scarcely too much to say that he founded a new school of historic writing. Many have, with varied success, followed in his footsteps. Thus it is not difficult to detect the influence of Macaulay's manner on the pages of Carlyle, Mahon, Prescott, Motley, Froude and other historians of less note. In these histories we often meet with passages framed on the same model, and filled in with the same vivid colors as those employed by Lord Macaulay; but none of his followers have attained the high degree of excellence which distinguishes their master. A generation must pass away before it will be possible to form a fair estimate of Macaulay's books, considered merely as histories. It is, therefore, with unfeigned diffidence that we venture to offer some desultory remarks upon his History.

It was his good fortune to find himself in an age conspicuous for its great literary changes. That historical dynasty which had long since been established by the Macchiavellis, Guicciardinis, Lingards and Clarendons of a former age, and lately modified by the Voltaires, Humes and Gibbons of the Renaissance, was, once again undergoing a change more radical than any that had preceded. The real nature of this revolution has not, we think, been investigated by all who now reap its splendid advantages.

After reading over that part of Macaulay's essay on Byron, where he treats of the poetry of to-day, and which he begins by investigating the distinction between the styles of Byron and Pope, we are tempted to ask a similar question and give a similar answer concerning history. Wherein especially, then, does the historic writing of our time differ from that

of the times of Clarendon or Hume? Many persons would answer that the History of Clarendon was correct and stately, as a narrative of great events should be, but rather cold and heavy, and that the histories of our time, though less lofty in their march, present far more vivid images and carry the feelings with them far more fully than those of Clarendon or Lingard and the rest of that school. In the same manner we often hear it said that the historians of the last century had more genius, but far less correctness, than those of the age of the revolution. Correctness, so-called, being the first requisite of a good historian, the question then arises whether the manner of Hume and Gibbon shows less correctness and more creative power than that of Clarendon and Lingard, or whether the former added to the correctness of their narratives by employing their imagination to imbue their readers with the spirit of by-gone ages?

Macaulay very truly observes that "a history in which every particular incident is true may on the whole be false." To give only the dry facts of history, to abbreviate dispatches, and to make extracts from speeches, seems, indeed, to have been to Lord Clarendon the only requisite of a good historian; but unhappily this method of treating history has, as Lord Macaulay says, given no real record of what was transacted by the Long Parliament. It has failed to exhibit the masterly policy of Hampden, and totally forgotten to lift the veil of coarse fanaticism under which burned the strong spirits which swept the flag of Holland from the sea, arrested the powerful armies of Sweden, and kept the rival monarchies of France and Spain at bay. In reading these long files of documents, the reader might as readily fancy the Cavaliers and Roundheads living in all the luxury of this age, and disporting themselves in the club windows of St. James, as rollicking in the coffee houses of Covent Garden, or fighting duels at Tunbridge Wells.

Though Hume and Gibbon, from a mistaken dread of derogating from the dignity of their subject, or departing from the domain of history, often shrink from particulars, yet they far excel their predecessors in the art of reasoning from particu-

lars to universals. With them generalization, one of the most prominent qualities of the modern historian, took its rise. It is true that pet theories and arguments often seduce this race of historians from truth. Gibbon, in particular, has laid himself open to severe censure in this respect, and often without making absolutely false statements, he is led to distort facts, and shape his characters to the support of some darling hypothesis. At the same time these misrepresentations, false as they may be, are far from being as deceptive as the omissions and utter barrenness in detail so apparent in Lingard and Clarendon. Hume may make a tyrant of Henry the Fourth, but had Clarendon written on the same period, and had we been left to receive our impressions of that monarch from the digests which his lordship would in all probability have laid before us, there might have been small reason to prevent us from seeing Henry the Fourth going to battle with a Puritan carbine or a Winchester rifle on his shoulder. Such an author might in a high or just sense of the phrase, be said to write history as correctly as Mr. Shenstone or Mr. Hayley wrote poetry.

Before Hume and Gibbon, historians fell into the error of writing comprehensively for students of the times only, leaving the fancy of posterity to judge, by a standard of after ages, the manners, morals and inner history of the people. They gave the outlines of the picture, without filling it in; thus not only leading their readers into frequent and involuntary anachronism, but leaving the capital points of history untold.

What may be styled the philosophy of history was at that time unknown. It is this art of deducing general principles from facts which would especially appear to distinguish the best historians of the last century from their predecessors. And it is to them that we owe the commencement of a new and more enlightened era in the annals of historical modern writing. Yet it is somewhat singular that all the defects of this school take a strong coloring from its merits, and that the powerful reasoning which so prominently characterizes their works should have brought upon them the same charge of misrepre-

sentation that ancient historians incurred by their vivid imagination. To take an old example, Herodotus, it is well-known, drew upon his fancy for some of the most significant facts recorded in his writings, though of late years he has been found more reliable than was before conceded. Yet, there is no doubt that mythology, history, legends, reports, conjectures and facts alike were by him commingled as one great mass of truth to be received by the Greeks of his time, who, like all early peoples, required a touch of the marvellous to stimulate their interest. The historian of the last century, without being guilty of such actual misstatements, often leaves the same false impression by straining facts to suit assumed principles. Instead of letting the current of history flow in its natural channel, they seem to think that notions and theories have a prescriptive right to turn it aside. Yet the best historians of later times are guilty of this species of misrepresentation; and perhaps it is the most readily fallen into, and therefore the most readily pardoned, if indeed pardon can be granted to any writer who violates truth.

What then are the features which characterize that new school of history, which has so great a charm for the minds of modern people, and makes history read by the most frivolous and indolent; in fact goes far to supersede the love of romantic fiction?

To answer this question we need only turn over and compare two or three pages in any recent history with a passage in Lingard. There we can easily detect the causes which made the histories of empires lie neglected on the shelves of great libraries, and also the new allurements which have brought to pass such an important change—a change which may be plainly seen in the fact that circulating libraries now require fifty or a hundred copies of a new history, when formerly one or two copies sufficed.

Not many years since it was sufficiently proved by high authority and by a careful study of the best poets, that poetry must not necessarily be conducted on those immutable principles prescribed by such critics as Rymer and Johnson. In the same manner, and at about the same time, it was discovered that an

account of the people, their arts, their sects, their manners, customs, religion and education, need no more impair the dignity of history, than an account of their battles, sieges, and administrations. The time had passed when the reader contented himself with extracts from documents and state papers, or a mere narration of the performances of kings, ministers and generals. The time had also passed when historical criticism threatened to take the place of narratives, and political reasoning often degenerated into partisan sophistry. Men had long become tired of insipid uniformity to a standard which derived no authority from nature or reason.

The public longed for some history that would bring out facts in a more attractive form, and unite the various qualities of Plutarch, Hume and Thucydides. Such perfection of method was long denied them. Yet a new school which we would venture to christen the romantic school of history, sprung into life, and approached this excellence, perhaps more closely than could have been hoped for. Voltaire was among the first; it might indeed be said he was the first writer who carried out this new method of composing history, His life of Charles XII, though a mere biography, was written with a vividness that presented a complete picture of the times, and with a fire and eloquence, which carried them to the hearts of the people. The success of this work induced him to publish *Le siècle de Louis-Quatorze*, which partook less of biography than the former, though conducted on the same plan.

Voltaire was followed, both in France and in England, by many converts. By them it became understood that an uninteresting history could never be a popular history, and moreover, that when a narrative of events failed to engage the reader's interest it might, very generally and very properly, be pronounced an unfaithful report.

What then were the qualities requisite to engage and command the attention of the general public? It came to be recognized that truth and popularity could only be obtained by exhibiting manners as well as facts and events; the arts of peace as well as the arts of war.

While poetry under the genial influence of Cowper, Burns

and Alfieri, was every year becoming less feeble; while the artificial versification which Pope had introduced, and many feeble followers had copied, was fast fading out of sight, history, in like manner, was throwing off her shackles, by beginning to mark those "noiseless revolutions" which have most influenced the happiness or misery of mankind. "These revolutions," as Lord Macaulay, with his usual felicity, has observed, "are not achieved by armies or enacted by senates;" "they are sanctioned by no treaties and recorded in no archives; it is in every school, in every church, behind ten thousand counters, and at ten thousand firesides, that the changes of manners and morals, the transitions of communities, from poverty to wealth, from ignorance to knowledge, from ferocity to humanity, are transacted."

It is in this spirit of exhibiting in miniature the character of a past age that the modern historian gives prominence to every peculiar occurrence, no matter how trivial, to every characteristic anecdote, no matter how trite, and even to the slang of the period when it can serve to mark the features of the people, of their customs, their commerce, or their literature. Thus the veil which was commonly, so closely drawn by many of our former writers of history began at last to rise, and display the true good or evil of some great social systems.

Cowper had been dead twenty years when the revolution in English poetry was fully consummated. Forty years had elapsed, since the death of Hume, when the revolution in English historical writing was fully accomplished; and no English writer contributed so greatly to the consummation as Lord Macaulay. With him all conflict of the old and the new schools was terminated. He became the Byron of history. Comparison between Macaulay and Byron may, indeed, at first sight, appear as strange as that which some patriotic traveller is said to have made between the Alps and the Alleghanies. It may seem that the gentle, plodding, saving man of letters, who, at thirty-three, had hardly tasted of the pleasures of this world, who was glad to earn a pittance by waiting for clients in his dingy rooms at Lincoln's Inn, and whose favorite associates were his books, and his two antiquated

sisters, could have nothing in common with the haughty, ardent and voluptuous nobleman, who was tabooed by London society, and at the same age robbed Count Guiccioli of his spouse. But as Macaulay says of Cowper and Alfieri, though the private lives of these two remarkable men bear no analogy to each other, it is not difficult to discover many points of resemblance in their literary lives. Macaulay found history, and Byron poetry, in a state so artificial that the public longed for reform. When poetry had become so feeble, "that Mr. Hayley was thought a good poet," and when history was so scant that only Clarendon, Lingard and Hume could be consulted on the manners and religion of our ancestors, it was no wonder, indeed, that there was a pining in the minds of men for something newer and something truer. Both Macaulay and Byron possessed precisely the talents which fitted them for a task that before would have been deemed the abasement of history and poetry. Perhaps they cannot in strictness be called the "first and foremost" of historians and poets, but they may both be fairly said to have been the great reformers of a great age.

The speedy success and popularity of Macaulay's History must be ascribed to the powerful, vivid, and picturesque imagination which rendered his descriptions all but real, and produced reasonings of the most ingenious character. These high qualities at once stamped him as the most delightful of historians. For extent of detail and minuteness of knowledge he had never been equalled; and his powers of description and conception enabled him to revive single men and groups of characters, long put aside unnoticed, but now placed before the world in a new, distinct and living light. Moulded by his pen, they assumed shapes so real as to make them alike attractive to all classes, young and old, learned and ignorant. They were made to move like human beings before the reader, through the court, the camp, the council and the cottage. They seemed to perform their several parts on some colossal arena into which the reader suddenly felt himself transported. They speak, act, dress and fight as in the olden time. No incident, however trifling, is left untold when it displays the

character of the times, or the individual. We feel ourselves unconsciously carried to the death-bed of William. We hear him prepare for death with resignation truly Christian. We see him in his last moments surrounded by his ministers and nobles. We hear him thank Auverquerque for the affectionate and loyal services of thirty years. We see him confide to Albemarle the key of his chest and of his private drawers. He calls for Bentinck; we are touched to see the king press tenderly to his heart the hand of his earliest friend, and we feel all that in that solemn moment must have passed in the mind of the dying monarch. A few moments and his eyes close forever on a reign made conspicuous by him for its financial prosperity and political liberty.

Macaulay's knowledge of modern history and his miscellaneous literary acquirements were amazing, and appeared all the more marvellous when arrayed and methodized by his sagacious and swift understanding; and it is certainly remarkable that the immensity of his attainments should not in any degree have affected his style. Clear, plain, forcible, often highly ornate in his expressions, he "wears all his load of learning as lightly as a flower."

Nor was he in the least affected by the puritanism which he might have derived from a long line of Scottish clerical ancestors. Happily for himself and his readers, his English education, and his intercourse with the most cultivated English society, completely divested him of such a peculiarity. On the contrary, the richness, felicity, and perspicuity of his manner are well-known to all who have read but one page of his writings. Such ease, such purity, grace, force and point, together with the peculiarly happy turn of his thoughts, combine to make his style perhaps the most striking of the age. Indeed, if taste and elegance be titles to enduring fame, we might safely venture to promise this rich reward to the author of the essays on Bacon and Hastings. Thus we are not surprised to find Jeffrey exclaiming on receipt of Macaulay's first contribution to the *Edinburgh Review*, "The more I think, the less I can conceive where you picked up your style."

If any fault may be found with his manner, it might be blamed as overloaded with ornament and epigram. This is certainly the greatest defect Macaulay can be accused of. His passion for epigram pervades his descriptions, his reasoning and his whole style so perfect in other respects. Hence it has been asserted that what his comparisons and descriptions gain in vividness, his philosophy often loses in soundness. He has even by some been termed less a profound than an ingenious reasoner.

At Oxford his history is discarded as a text book or authority. How far the old Tory university may, in this instance, have been swayed by its party principles, it would be difficult to decide, and still more difficult to estimate the effect of his account of the Established Church clergy of the period. We are of opinion that the latter has been a more fertile source of prejudice than the former. But, after all the fairness and justice which prevail at Oxford, in all decisions of this nature, tend to convince us that, on the whole, none but sound convictions could have moved the men who accept John Stuart Mill and reject Lord Macaulay.

It is, however, natural that Macaulay, like all historians, should have his assailable points, and it must, in fairness, be said that most of the positions he has taken are well defended. It is true that he makes some absolute misstatements. Thus, he has often been charged with conferring on Schomberg, who was killed at the Battle of the Boyne, a grave in Westminster Abbey, whereas his tomb is undoubtedly in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin. Such a slip is the more surprising, as a short walk to the Abbey might readily have convinced him of his blunder. But such errors are of trifling moment when compared with the graver charges brought against him. By some his history has been termed a "huge Whig pamphlet," and without sanctioning this slanderous appellation, no impartial admirer of Macaulay will find it easy to hold him entirely guiltless of partiality and antipathy, especially the latter.

In his description of Penn and the Quakers, for example, he displays throughout an ungracious animosity, which led

him to treat several important particulars hastily and inaccurately. It is more than probable that Penn's intimacy and influence with James II, and consequent equivocal position, gave some ground to his enemies for the suspicion of treason; but it is certain that Lord Macaulay has failed to convince the world of Penn's guilt by quotations from such small men as Leslie, Dalrymple, or Narcissus Luttrell, followed by a few deductions of his own.

Everybody must know that Penn was acquitted of all the descreditable intrigues and incidents which followed Monmouth's rebellion, and that by men of such high character as Locke and Tillotson, by whose influence he was, in November, 1693, after a thorough and complete investigation, finally and honorably discharged. While we are willing to believe with Burnet that Penn "was a little puffed up with vanity," and had a tedious way of talking, we are more disposed to believe with Jeffrey that such trifles cannot wear away the fame he has so well merited, and whatever worldly desires may have mixed themselves with his projects, there seems little reason to doubt the pious and philanthropic principles which took him over the sea to form the great colony that still bears his name, and which has placed him on record as "the most humane, the most moderate, and the most pacific of all rulers."*

Throughout his History, Macaulay displays an overpowering admiration for William III. He deals with him so tenderly that we often involuntarily fancy ourselves reading a panegyrical biography. It is true that the king is justly painted as more genial and kindly than we had ever before

*Macaulay's hostility to Penn and the Quakers is the more remarkable when we recollect that his mother belonged to the "Society of Friends." Like his indifference to Presbyterianism, it may have been the result of his Oxford education. Lockhart, the biographer and son-in-law of Walter Scott, was the son of a Scottish clergyman (Presbyterian). One of his brothers, moreover, was a minister of the same church, and yet no reader of Scott's life would guess that Lockhart had ever been other than an English Episcopalian. His Presbyterian origin is carefully concealed as if he were ashamed of it.

known him; but the massacre of Glencoe and his conduct to the promoters of the Darien scheme, are two stains upon William's fame which his most skillful partisans have been unable to efface.

With regard to the massacre of Glencoe, Macaulay's defense of the king is made on such a variety of grounds, each one more slender than the other, that it is sometimes hard to believe in the conviction of the writer himself. In one * passage he believes that the certificate detailing the submission of Mac Ian was suppressed by an intrigue, and that William, thus left in ignorance of this fact, and vexed at the stubbornness of the Scottish chief, was impelled to sign the warrant which brought death to so many brave Macdonalds. On the next page we are told that whoever has seen anything of public business knows that princes and ministers daily sign documents which they have not read, and that the fate of a handful of Highlanders was not likely to engage the special attention of a sovereign whose mind was full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend. Lame as these apologies must appear, they must lose still more when we read a subsequent passage,† where Macaulay does not hesitate to blame the king most severely for letting the perpetrator remain unpunished, especially in the case of the Master of Stair who commanded at Glencoe. Speaking of Glencoe, Lord Macaulay in one of his journals gives the opinion of Ellis, an intimate friend whose literary judgment he undoubtedly valued: "April 11, 1847, Ellis came to dinner. I read him Glencoe; he did not seem to like it much, which vexed me, though I am not partial to it. It is a good thing to find sincerity."

With some few exceptions such as the above, the truth of Macaulay's narrative in the main has never been disproved. And however much opinions as to his accuracy and his speculations may vary, few will deny him a place in the foremost rank of modern historians. He bears the honor of having put history in what was a new and not unfaithful light, thus throw-

* Chapter xviii, Vol. IV. † Chapter xxi, Vol. IV.

ing the dry pages of Lingard into the shade, and opening to the people an entertaining and useful field of literature. From the enormous sale of his History we may venture to say that the reign of William and Mary is now more familiar to the general British public than any other in English history.

If the finest essays be those which are most widely read, and which rivet the attention most closely and delightfully, then Lord Macaulay we think must be allowed to take precedence as an essayist of all his distinguished contemporaries. There are, indeed, some who dispute many of his criticisms, but time has established him in the main as an authority, and many of his essays have for forty years represented, and will no doubt long embody, the popular estimate. Mr. James Spedding has, in some recent papers on Bacon, pointed out what he considers Lord Macaulay's slander on the great philosopher. He declares that Lord Macaulay had never sufficiently mastered Bacon's productions and letters, and so slandered him through ignorance. Whether such charges as Mr. Spedding's will take strong hold on the mind of the people the course of years will show. But it will be difficult to shake a reputation so widely and so firmly rooted in the popular mind. That Macaulay was sometimes moved by prejudice even to acrimony, he freely confesses in the first volume of his essays, where ample restitution is made to Mr. Mill for an attack on that distinguished author in the *Edinburgh Review*.

If from the author we turn to the statesman we shall find much less to praise and to admire, whether we regard his services in India or at home. That he had much theoretical knowledge about politics in the high sense of the word will readily be allowed, but that he possessed too little practical skill to keep himself from erring, and erring widely, no one can doubt. A single fact is decisive upon this point. His Indian code, though highly humane in its protection of the natives, was found so impracticable that the larger portion of it soon had to be abandoned. His political opinions leaned strongly toward the side of liberty. Hence it is that he remained throughout his public life a staunch adherent of the Whig party. He followed firmly in the footsteps of its lead-

ers, but never led. As War Secretary he did little or nothing that could be deemed of consequence. Had his fate not been inseparably bound up with that of his colleagues, he probably would, as an ardent admirer of Lord Palmerston, and in one case his supporter, have weathered the storm even after the fall of the Landsdowne cabinet. But Macaulay was far too outspoken a man to "trim" or present even a semblance of deserting the ranks when they began to waver. What he may indeed be most commended for as a statesman was the unscrupulous and unflinching honesty and courage with which he supported all his convictions. He was a courageous advocate of religious freedom—supported the Roman Catholic Relief Bill—the bill to repeal the civil disabilities of the Jews, and the Maynooth grant, for which last stroke of independence he lost his seat for Edinburgh, though later his constituents made the *amende honorable* of a re-election in 1852, without a single movement made by him in his own behalf. Whatever Macaulay's feelings may have been at that time, the loss of his seat could certainly not be a matter of regret on the day that the first volume of his History was published; and the kindly feelings which prompted Lord Landsdowne to offer him the seat for Calne, must ever remain a source of regret to the English people, who would gladly have repaid Macaulay with true gratitude for such a legacy as the reign of Anne from his pen—a task which could only be accomplished by his complete abstention from public life.

As an orator, Macaulay's talent and finished rhetorical accomplishments always commanded the attention and admiration of the House, but he seldom if ever spoke extemporaneously, and never took part in an unexpected debate. Perhaps no man with a style similar to Macaulay's can be a ready debater or extemporaneous speaker. Men who cultivate such a style think in the ordinary language of Englishmen and then translate it into their own peculiar diction. This has been the case with many writers of celebrity. An instance* often

* Another case (not so well-known because it is a Scottish one), is that of Dr. Thomas Chalmers, whose prepared orations were the most powerful of his time, but who had no extemporaneous power and never could have been a debater.

mentioned is that of Dr. Johnson, some of whose conversations, as reported by Boswell, are first expressed in homely Anglo-Saxon, and immediately after translated into what we may venture to call "Johnsonese."

On the whole, Macaulay's career as a statesman was not so brilliant as was expected from his literary abilities. In one word, as Tacitus says of the Emperor Galba, "He appeared highly fitted for public, whilst he remained in private life," and had Macaulay never entered the cabinet all the world would have judged him possessed of the materials to form a great minister.

The literary character, has undoubtedly, as Macaulay says, its full share of faults; yet it is in this respect that his own nature, when compared with that of his peers, presents its fairest aspect. The grossness of Dr. Johnson, the foolishness of Goldsmith, the vanity of Gibbon, the profligacy of Byron, the dishonesty of Bacon, all appear in glaring contrast when compared to the spotless, social virtues of Macaulay. Of literary meannesses and Grub Street vices, he was as guiltless as many members of Johnson's club were guilty. If any injustice had been done to a contemporary, he was, if convinced of the wrong, ever ready for ample reparation, as in the case of John Stuart Mill, alluded to above. The truth is that, in turning over the letters and journals, so carefully prepared by Mr. Trevelyan, we have found but few traces of the vanity, jealousy and irritability, of a man of letters. There were, indeed, some contemporaries, such as Brougham, whom he positively hated; but modesty, affability and generosity, seem to have been the leading features of his nature, and would appear to have eminently fitted him for kindly intercourse with the world.

His modesty surpassed all bounds. In a letter to his sister, Selina, in 1848, he says: "I see every day clearly how far my performance is below excellence." Again, just before the publication of the first volume of his History, he writes: "I have armed myself with all my philosophy in the event of a failure." Such modesty was, if possible, eclipsed by an unusual generosity. Distressed literary men made daily

pilgrimages to the villa on Campden Hill, where they seem always to have found a willing ear, and a liberal hand. One morning, a gentleman, well-known to philologists, called on Macaulay to beg assistance. Macaulay, moved by his situation, hands him a cheque for one hundred pounds, with so little hesitation as not even to assure himself of his identity. This and many other strokes of generosity display the warm and genial nature which seems to have characterized and endeared Lord Macaulay in his dealings with his family, and all who knew him well.

Probably no historian had ever before derived such large profits from his works. Starting with nothing or nearly nothing, Macaulay became a comparatively opulent man. The demand for the first edition of his History was unequalled in the annals of publishing. The first volume was bought up in ten weeks; and the sum which came to the author was £20,000. His own astonishment was unbounded. On March 7th, 1856, he writes: "Longman has agreed that they shall pay £20,000 into William's bank next week; what a sum to be gained by one edition of a book! I may say in one day, but that was harvest day." At the time of its publication, the History was of course much criticised. Praise greatly preponderated, but Macaulay himself says that there was a strong admixture of censure. Especially John Wilson Croker, a leading contributer to the *Quarterly Review*, was loud in denouncing the History of England as more of a romance than a history. But the criticisms of this his unremitting enemy, proved inadequate to change the popular opinion. As Macaulay says in one of his letters: "The bitterness of this attack was alone sufficient to parry it." He was well able to sustain such assaults, and never lived to see his popularity wane.

Though in his later years, Macaulay went much into the world, he never seems to have been of the world. We often find him in his letters expatiating on the pomps and vanities of the people he dined with, though in doing so, he rarely names individuals. To men of culture, Macaulay appears to have been the most delightful of companions. His judgment

of literature was highly valued by all who sought the opinion of, perhaps, the most cultivated authority of the times. His estimates of contemporary literature have, in some cases, been thought false, but men are naturally divided on a question which time alone can determine. He was a perfect devourer of books; poems, ballads, histories, novels, books on philosophy and law, were all dispatched at a rate which most men would call superficial. Speaking of the voyage to India, he says: "I devoured Greek, Spanish, Italian, French and English folios, quartos, octavos, duodecimos;" and it is not the least remarkable trait of his intellect that what once he had read he never forgot. This retentive memory, which enabled him to cite whole passages verbatim from most authors, obscure or known, and his enormous fund of information, combined to make him one of the first conversationalists of his time. It is said that he lacked the tact and manners of the man of the world, and could command continued attention with men of extraordinary attainments only. In his own sphere he was worshiped. There his conversation assumed the form of a monologue or parlor lecture, and never tired his audience, however continuous it might be or however long.

It is, however, told of Sydney Smith, that he on one occasion, when dining with Macaulay, repeatedly tried to get a hearing; but it was impossible to break his friend's continuous discourse. At length, after waiting half an hour, the clergyman, in a fit of exasperation, turned his chair towards his next neighbor, an American gentleman, giving vent to his feelings in the following words: "Macaulay is a thoroughly good fellow, but I'll be hanged if he understands the difference between a soliloquy and a colloquy."

It is a source of undying regret that Macaulay was not spared to complete his History. His health, which had suddenly begun to decline, became so impaired that in 1852, shortly after his re-election, he resigned his seat for Edinburgh, and determined to husband the little strength that remained to him for the completion of his History. But, unhappily, his already feeble health sank under the effects of incessant labor. On the morning of December the 28th, 1859, he expired.

Only a few minutes before he had set his last signature to a cheque for £25, to a poor curate.

The reign of Anne, of which he possessed such intimate knowledge, remains unfinished for ever. We say for ever! Indeed never again can we hope for another Macaulay so marvellously familiar with the smallest items in the history of that period. What verdict posterity will pass on Macaulay's writings years alone can show. Macaulay, the historian, undoubtedly has grave defects, and defects that come into view more glaringly in his peculiar style. Yet along with those of other historians we have tried carefully to weigh these imperfections in the balance, and we have not found Macaulay wanting. His splendid qualities outweigh his blemishes. We have indeed no hesitation in believing that, judged by the standard of England's best historians, he must always hold a high rank, if not the highest.

On the day that Macaulay's remains were laid at the feet of Addison, in that old London Abbey, so long the Walhalla of Englishmen, on that day his fondest hopes were accomplished. There he sleeps with that great race of warriors, statesmen and scholars, who have been the glory of twenty generations, and whom it had been his whole desire to emulate. This last and honorable tribute accorded to the historian of William and Mary a durable place among England's first and greatest men.

Sixteen years have elapsed since then, and now could Macaulay scan the expanse of civilization, and see his works read widely—and in England and America widely as no other histories are—then would he behold a prospect fair and rich enough to repay all his labors. He would see a broad and powerful current of history set flowing by himself, at once the Moses and the Joshua of a new and great school. And could he gaze over a wider expanse of time, it is not impossible that he might see himself read in years to come by the side of his favorite classic Thucydides. At last we see him clothed with that imperishable glory which can be gained only by those inestimable actions that must have their full weight in the balance of eternity, when every thing else is as nothing and vanity.

ART. IV.—1. *Augewählte Komödien des T. M. Plautus.* von JULIUS BRIX. Leipzig. 1864.

2. *Des T. M. Plautus Trinummus, übersetzt und erklärt.* F. OSTHELDER. 1852.

3. *M. A. Plautus: Comédies trad. par J. B. Levée, prévédées d'une dissertation sur Plaute et sur ses écrits en général, etc.* Par M. MAZOIS. Paris. 1820.

4. *M. A. Plauti Comœdiæ. Curante J. Naudet.* Paris. 1830.

5. *Ancient Classics for English Readers:—Plautus and Terence.* By W. L. COLLINS, M. A. 1873.

ALTHOUGH the exercises and contests of the Roman Circus are supposed to be traceable back to the days of Romulus, it was not until the latter half of the fourth century before Christ that dramatic representations were introduced at Rome. It was only by the means of such performances, that in the year B. C. 364—when a terrible pestilence was spreading its devastations—the Romans sought to appease the anger of the gods. Etrurian dancers or *Histriones*, were summoned, Livy * informs us, to give their entertainments, consisting of pantomimic dances to the music of a pipe, without any accompanying songs or gesticulations; the word *hister* being an Etrurian one answering to the Latin *ludio.*†

These entertainments proving a great success were soon naturalized among the Romans, and improved by uniting therewith a sort of improvisatory farce, composed in rude metre which had long been familiar to the Romans at certain of their festivals under the name of *fescennina.* The dances were made to conform to the rythm, and the sense, and the verses themselves were polished and improved. This com-

* Livy, vii, 2.

† Ib., *Val. Max.*, II, iv, 4.

bination or medley became known by the name of *Saturæ*,* and must not be confounded with the Atellane Fables, the oldest spoken dialogues of the Romans. These were borrowed from the Oscans, one of the most ancient tribes of Italy.† The Oscans were said to be so intimately associated, if not connected with, the early Romans, that though their language soon became obsolete, yet their dialect, long preserved in these farces, was readily comprehended by the Romans. Writers have gone so far in judging of the character of these farces, as to derive from their indecent tendency the word *obscœnum*, (quasi oscenum.)

For a hundred and twenty-three years from the introduction of the histrionic representations by the Etrurians, the Romans remained satisfied with these *saturæ*, improved in degree only, rather than in kind. In the year B. C. 240, Livius Andronicus, a native of Magna Grecia, appeared and made a decided stride in advance by adding to the incoherent medleys the symmetry of a plot. The plays that he wrote, both tragedies and comedies, though a great improvement upon those of any of his predecessors, were mere imitations of the Greek. "Thus," says Schlegel, ‡ "the Romans were indebted to the Etruscans for the first notion of the stage spectacle, to the Oscans for the effusions of sportive humor, to the Greeks for higher cultivation."

Close upon Andronicus came Nævius, who gave a local coloring to his dramas by satirizing certain of the Roman dignitaries whose displeasure he was made to feel. For the Romans were too arrogant to tolerate anything like the old comedy of the Athenians. Nævius wrote both tragedies and comedies, of which not any save in unimportant fragments survive.

Such was the condition of the Roman drama in the mid-

* "So benannt von der Aeknlichkeit mit der *Lanx Satura*,—eine volle Schüssel mit allerlei Früchtern,—also eine Art poetisches Pot-pourri, tutti frutti." Brix.

† See J. A. Cramer's *Geographical and Historical Description of Ancient Italy*. Oxford. 1820.

‡ *Dram. Kunst und Lit.*

dle of the third century before Christ, the approximate date of the appearance of Plautus upon the stage of life. From the love of imitation inherent in human nature, the drama had already taken deep hold upon the affections of the Romans. Although the Romans were very early acquainted with the Greek theatres, as shown by ruins on the hill sides of Tusculum and Fisulæ, * yet in the times of Plautus and Terence the representations were in theatres built of wood. Yet such progress was afterwards made that about a century after the death of Plautus a certain Roman citizen could find no more appropriate monument to his father's memory than the erection of two theatres, built back to back in the usual semi-circular form, so that after the dramatic representation they could, by a wonderful mechanical contrivance, be wheeled around with the spectators in them and together form a circus for the exhibition of gladiatorial shows.†

Nothwithstanding the devotion of the Romans to the drama, tragedy, as is well-known, never flourished among them. "They were," to use the words of Schlegel once more, "the tragedians of the world's history, and many a drama of deep woe did they exhibit, with kings led in fetters, and pining in the dungeon; they were the iron necessity of all other nations; the universal destroyers for the sake of piling up at last from the ruins the mausoleums of their own dignity and freedom, amid the monotonous solitude of an obedient world. To them it was not given to touch the heart by the tempered accents of mental anguish, and to run with a light and sparing hand through the scale of the feelings. Even in tragedy they naturally aimed at extremes, by overleaping all intermediate gradations, both in the stoicism of heroic courage and in the monstrous rage of abandoned lusts."‡ Among the extant Roman dramatists, therefore, it is in the writings of Plautus and Terence that we must look for the highest de-

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* Niebrehr *Hist. Rom.*, iii, 364.

† Pliny *H. N.*, xxxvi, 9, 24.

‡ *Dram. Kunst und Lit.*

velopment of the national Roman drama, rather than in the tragedies of the more enlightened age of Seneca.

It is to the Roman comedy as represented in the writings of Plautus that the reader's attention is now asked. Intimately connected with the ancient tribes of the Etrurians and Oscans already alluded to were the original settlers of the province of Umbria. So far back was the history of the Umbri supposed to have been traced that their very name was thought to have been suggested by the Greek word *Ὄμβρος* to commemorate their rescue from the dire effects of a universal deluge, * that strange tradition found in the annals of almost every nation. Through he province of Umbria flows a small stream in whose modern name of Savio is still preserved its ancient name of Sapis. It was near the head-waters of this rivulet that Plautus was born. Upon its banks, under the very shadow of the Appenines, he passed his boyhood days, and from such surroundings drew his earliest inspirations. Nature was his sole educator;

> "Here, as with honey gathered from the rock,
> She fed the little prattler, and with songs
> Oft sooth'd his wondering ears; with deep delight
> On her soft lap he sat and caught the sounds."†

In the very name by which he is now known to us is preserved a relic of the Umbrian dialect. As was common to those in his condition of life, he originally had but two names, Titus Maccius. But the absurdly disproportionate size of his feet early gained for him the nickname Plautus, "flat-footed." It is a little singular that both the Greek philosopher and the Latin dramatist, should owe to physical deformities the names of Plato and Plautus, by which they continue to be known to posterity.

The son of an uneducated slave, Plautus himself was born to a condition of abject poverty. Yet it was this poor menial with whose name the whole Roman world was one day to ring, who was to achieve success as a writer unprecedented among his countrymen, and whose genius, centuries after he

* See Cramer's *Italy*.

† Joseph Warton.

had himself turned to dust, and even his language become obsolete, was to leave its impress upon the literatures of nations. France, Germany, England, were all to feel the power of his influence in their national writings.

Our splay-footed poet was not destined to spend all his days in the obscurity of his native town of Sarsina, "Chewing the food of sweet and bitter fancy." The first Punic war had just ended. The news of the increasing success of the Roman arms doubtless aroused his ambition, and the rumors that reached him from the busy city, inflamed his eager mind, so that at an early age he determined to seek his fortune in the gay capital.

Arriving at Rome at the auspicious period of universal peace, Plautus began his dramatic career as a common servant at the theatre. He hoarded up his earnings, and by the exercise of what must have been the most rigid economy, contrived to acquire a little capital. Not satisfied with his pecuniary prospects, he determined to make another bold venture.

Accordingly, though entirely devoid of commercial education and probably without any business talent, he left Rome, and invested his hard-earned savings in some commercial enterprise only to meet with most disastrous results. Fired with a feverish desire for sudden wealth, he embarked in a career of speculation and, as might have been expected, ignominiously failed. His business failure may have been owing to the innate simplicity of heart shown in his writings, or an ignorance of the world due to his provincial training, which may have led him to place too ready a confidence in his fellow-men. Be this as it may, this little episode is not the only intensely modern circumstance connected with Plautus.

Left thus without a groat at the age of thirty, he returns to Rome to begin life anew. Finding no other opening he hired himself to work in the humblest capacity for a Roman baker. Here we find our bankrupt young poet, for a year or more, engaged in the ennobling task of grinding corn at a hand-mill. But while his hands are thus busy day in and day out with his monotonous work, his brain is not idle. For

during this period he produced two comedies, of which little more is now known than the titles. Though it is in allusion to one of these that Festus says, "Plautus in his Saturio mentions that the Romans used to eat as an article of food, the flesh of puppies." The other play produced at that time, according to Aulus Gellius, was the *Addictus*. The only fragment of this play extant is, we believe, that quoted by an unknown commentator of the *Georgics* of Virgil, and which, derives a melancholy interest from the circumstances under which it was written:

"I should much rather work than sleep: I dread inaction."

The success of these two plays marked the beginning of a literary career, such as few meet with. Their author abandoned his position at the hand-mill, and devoting himself with perhaps something of the automatism acquired during the days of his adversity, proceeded to grind out from his brain the strange farrago of sense and nonsense, wit and wisdom, simplicity and coarseness, which make up so much of the plays of Plautus. A century after his death there were no less than a hundred and thirty plays purporting to come from the hands of Plautus. Out of commiseration for the poet's future fame, Varro, the celebrated Roman critic and martyr, sifted this vast mass of matter to one-sixth of the bulk it had thus acquired. There are twenty plays now extant, all in a more or less imperfect state. It is almost impossible to tell how far even all of these are genuine, so interspersed are they with *hiatuses* and "restorations."

The execrable puns, shrewd aphorisms and often senseless wit contained in his plays, contributed greatly to enhance Plautus's popularity with the masses. Silly and far-fetched, as many of the jests are, they were immensely taking with the Roman audience. Patricians and plebeians alike swarmed at the representations of the "Splay-foot's" plays. Plautus is no lover of blood-curdling and heart-rending scenes. From the prologue to one of his plays we may even infer his distaste for war. It is one of the brighter sides of the harsh and cruel temperament of his fellow-countrymen, that they could

so easily abandon the gladiatorial contests and bloody scenes of the arena for the *bons mots* and harmless buffoonery of the comic stage.

With, perhaps, the exception of Horace, we know of no Latin poet in whose personality, apart from his works, the reader feels so deep an interest as Plautus. The aphorisms and sayings that he puts into the mouths of his actors show so much genuine wisdom as often to recall the inspired writers; and his plays with all their absurd anachronisms, evince a familiarity with Greek literature, and a degree of culture which, in one little better than an emancipated slave, are simply marvellous, and which no labored argument to show that they were merely wholesale adaptations from the Greek, will serve to explain. We should remember also that Plautus was not like many of the Roman slaves, of noble birth and taken captive in war. He was in all probability the most plebeian of the plebeians. But whatever interest we may feel in his personal history will avail us little. Beyond the meagre outline already given, little is known. The exact date of his birth and of the production of his plays, and the immediate circumstances of his death are unknown. He is supposed to have begun his dramatic career about B. C. 224. The only certain date is that of his death, B. C. 184.

In a single sentence, which we cannot refrain from quoting here, Steevens has compressed almost the entire known biography of the world's greatest dramatist: "All that is known with any degree of certainty concerning Shakspeare is—that he was born at Stratford-upon-Avon—married and had children there—went to London, where he commenced actor and wrote poems and plays—returned to Stratford, made his will, died and was buried." That of Plautus may be almost as summarily disposed of. Yet there is a wonderful similarity in what we do know of each. Both were born of lowly origin, in obscure provincial towns; both early sought the fashionable capital, participating in all the gaieties of metropolitan life; both acted in the plays themselves had written; both are guilty of the most absurd anachronisms showing a refreshing contempt for geography and history; both freely helped themselves to

pre-existing materials, which they used only to improve and adorn; and both by reason of their striving chiefly for contemporary applause have been the despair of future biographers and critics.

The very name of the Latin poet was for a long time an object of misapprehension, and was universally written M. Accius; and in some works purporting to be classical it is still so printed. It was not until the middle of the present century that through the researches of Ritschl, the true name was discovered from a palimpsest in the Ambrosian Library at Milan to be Titus Maccius. This nominal error may not perhaps be of the most absorbing interest to any but the antiquarian; yet as showing the mingled neglect and admiration that Plautus has received, it is at least significant.

That our poet fully appreciated his own merits is very evident. In a moment of some such sublime modesty as inspired Horace to the composition of his "*Exegi monumentum*," Plautus composed his own epitaph which has been thus translated:

> "Wit, Laughter, Jests, and all the trains that use
> To adorn the scene and grace the comic muse,
> Forsook the stage and Plautus' death to mourn,
> And Harmony undone sat weeping o'er his urn." *

There seems no reason to believe, as has been maintained, that Varro was the author of these lines. However repugnant to modern taste this complacent spirit of self-praise may seem, it was perfectly in accordance with such notions of propriety as prevailed among the ancients. If there is any foundation for the tradition that the description in the *Pseudolus* of Plautus was intended as a representation of himself, our poet is certainly relieved from any imputation of vanity as to personal appearance; this is his portrait as given of himself:

> "A red-haired man, with round protuberant belly,
> Legs with stout calves, and of a swart complexion:
> Large head, keen eyes, red face, and monstrous feet."†

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* "Postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, commœdia luget,
Scœna est deserta ac dein Risus, Ludus, Jocusque
Et Numeri innumeri simul omnes conlacrumarunt."

Gell. I, 24, 3.

†*Pseudolus*, Act IV, Sc. 7, as translated by Collins.

The writings of Plautus are often charged with coarseness and indelicacy; and there is certainly no lack of either of these undesirable qualities. Without them he could hardly have acquired his popularity with the Roman people. Yet the same objections to certain expressions of the Latin poet would be regarded as simply prudish if urged with equal candor against those fully as indecent to be found in many a modern writer. The works of the old English dramatists, Shadwell, Massinger and Ford, and many others of that period, far surpass those of Plautus in this unenviable distinction. We have no desire to conceal or misrepresent the real defects of our dramatist; yet it would be idle to say that all his works are disgraced with "those outrages on decency, as well as on dramatic propriety, which in almost every play of Beaumont and Fletcher are so wrought into the plot as to render it unfit for representation."* While, moreover, certain society-plays still continue fashionable among us moderns, let us not be too hasty in rebuking the heathen poet, nurtured under the influences of a pagan mythology, for, believing with the Spanish dramatist, that "it was only fair that the customers should be served with what pleased their taste." It is besides a fact worth mentioning, that the pious St. Jerome used to turn to the writings of Plautus for relief and relaxation. And when, in 1508, Martin Luther withdrew to the cloister, the only profane authors he took with him were Plautus and Virgil.† Apart from the great Reformer's well-known weakness for comedy, we may readily imagine that the shrewd common-sense of the Latin dramatist together with the inordinate tendency to moralize upon the slightest occasion, must have been eminently palatable to that austere moralist.

With all his shortcomings, probably no Latin writer has had so many successful imitators among modern poets as Plautus. In France, among others, Rotrou, Molière, Regnard, and Picard; in Germany, Lessing and Schiller; in England,

*See article on "*Beaumont and Fletcher*," National Quarterly Review, Sept., 1876.

†Brix *Auges. Com. des Plautus.*

Shakspeare, Dryden, Fielding, Addison, besides others of less celebrity—all availed themselves of plots, scenes and hints suggested by the Latin dramatist. The most interesting of these "adaptations" is offered in the history of Plautus's *Menæchmi*. It was this that suggested to Shakspeare his *Comedy of Errors*, and to Rotrou his *Les Ménechmes;* and from this it is said Picard derived his play of *Encore des Ménechmes*, turned into German by Schiller in his *Neffe als Onkel*.

The plot is the familiar one founded on mistaken identity. It is the case of twin brothers separated in early life, the rescued one going years after in search of his lost brother, and arriving at last by chance at Epidamnus where this same lost brother happens to be living. Their wonderful similarity causes one to be constantly mistaken for the other, and as neither knows of the other's presence, of course many farcical situations are produced.

In speaking of the *Menæchmi* Mr. Collins says: "It appears to have been the only work of Plautus which had at that time been translated into English, which may account for its being the only one from which Shakspeare seems to have borrowed."*

We confess that we are not altogether satisfied with such an explanation. Reference is of course made to Warner's translation which appeared in 1595. While according to the best authorities, the *Comedy of Errors* could not have been written later than 1590. The most rational inference seems to be that Shakspeare resorted to the original. We de not purpose to revive here the trite question, whether the greatest uninspired writer of ages ever looked into a Latin book; yet, as Mr. Collins has thrown the weight of his authority in favor of an old fallacy, we must beg to remind the reader that such a course of reasoning as that just quoted, will hardly account for the expression in Hamlet:

"Seneca cannot be too heavy, nor Plautus too light.†

* *Plautus and Terence*, p. 71.

† *Hamlet*, Act ii. Sc. 2.

It seems hardly probable that Shakspeare should thus venture to express so general an opinion, if his own knowledge were from the translation of a single play. Shakspeare has improved upon the original by the addition of the two Dromios. The making the improbability thus doubly improbable by no means lessens the interest, while of course it renders matters doubly complicated. If it be really true that, as has been hinted, this addition was suggested by the plot of the *Amphitryon*, this in itself would be an utter refutation of Mr. Collins's statement as to the direct source of the plot of Shakespeare's play.

The English comedy is far superior to the Latin in point of characterization. Though one of Shakespeare's earliest, he has nowhere, it seems to us, surpassed it in the skill manifested in delineating and contrasting the characters of the two brothers. Plautus is amusing; Shakespeare is both amusing and suggestive. The moral tone of the *Menæchmi*, it is needless to add, is far below that of the English version.

The *Amphitryon* of Plautus is another play that has been successfully imitated by moderns. From it are derived *Les deux Sosias* of Rotrou, the *Amphitryon* of Molière, and *The Two Sosias* of Dryden. This play also, like the preceding, is founded upon a case of mistaken identity. Jupiter and Mercury personate the characters of Amphitryon and his servant Sosia, while the latter two are abroad. So successful is the disguise that even Amphitryon's wife Alcmena is deceived into receiving Jupiter as her husband. In the meantime Amphitryon and Sosia return and are confronted by their counterfeits. In the confusion that ensues the dispute is referred to the pilot Blepharo, who despairs of being able to decide between them. The result of the intrigue of Jupiter is the birth of Hercules, an event which is heralded by a peal of thunder, at the shock of which Amphitryon swoons. Upon Amphitryon's recovery, Jupiter appears in his own character, clears up the mystery and foretells to Amphitryon that his wife's child shall bless him with deathless glory by his deeds. The play was thought to redound greatly to the honor of Jove, and was frequently acted when the Romans wished to appease

his anger. If so, it is hardly a flattering picture of "Supreme Jove," as, says Mr. Riley, "his Godship figures here in the combined characters of an insolent impostor and an unprincipled debauchee." *

As we have already intimated, the chief desire of Plautus seems to have been to gain favor with the masses at any sacrifice. To this low design it is that we owe so many of the blemishes in his writings. Yet, when he consents to forego popular prejudices, and is simply true to himself, he shows that he is capable of uttering the purest sentiments in the finest language. We need go no further for a proof of this than to the prologue of the *Rudens*, supposed to be spoken by the constellation Arcturus, whose rising and setting were thought to have direct influence upon the storms: the play opening with the scene of a shipwreck. After depicting the judgment which awaits the wicked, the speaker proceeds in a strain which we may perhaps translate as follows:—

"The names of all the good he keeps inscribed
On other tablets. Yet the wicked still believe
That they with sacrifices and with gifts
May pacify their god. Vain is their task!
To supplications from a perjured heart
He ne'er will hearken. Should the just man plead
For mercy, Heaven will not despise his prayer.
Take then my counsel, ye who spend your lives
In virtue, falter not. Some day the thought
Of life so spent will be recalled with joy."

The scenery of the *Rudens* is perhaps more picturesque than that of any other play of Plautus. The prologist is, as we have just stated, a personification of the constellation of Arcturus; his costume was probably highly brilliant, his headdress surmounted by a shining star. The play opens the morning after a storm; in the back ground is represented the still angry sea; while a boat is seen in the distance struggling through the waves toward the rocky shore. In this boat are the two heroines of the play. On one side is seen the city of Cyrene, on the other the temple of Venus with an altar in

* *The Comedies of Plautus*, by H. T. Riley. London. 1852 and 1869.

front; next to the temple is the cottage of Dæmones, who is living there in seclusion, while other cottages are interspersed in the distance. This opening scene has frequently been compared to that of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, though it has been alleged that Shakspeare drew his description from Ariosto. The play derives its name from the rope by which a casket, which has been lost everboard during the storm, is dragged ashore in a net. The casket contains some trinkets belonging to Palæstra who was stolen in her infancy, and who by means of these is identified as the long lost daughter of Dæmones, near whose abode she has been providentially shipwrecked. The play, generally speaking, is a spirited one, and the interest is well sustained throughout.

So too we may search the rich fields of ancient literature in vain for a more perfect piece of art in its way than the *Captivi*. In pureness of tone and sentiment, it seems to us, this play touches the high-water mark of all of Plautus's writings, if not of the Latin drama. Its excellence in this respect seems the more remarkable from the fact that there are no female characters introduced. Perhaps, however, it is to this very deficiency that the success of the play is due. For with possibly the exception of Alcmena in the *Amphitryo*, and Adelphasium in the *Pœnulus*, the female characters of Plautus are almost invariably marvels of insipidity. The plot is the favorite one of Plautus'—the efforts of a father to recover a lost son; and as an admirable delineation of disinterested friendship and paternal affection, it is perhaps unsurpassed. It would be impossible to compress within fewer words the whole system of ethical philosophy implied in the two lines addressed by Tyndarus to his captor Hegio:

> "Est profecto deus, qui quæ nos gerimus auditque et videt,
> Bene merenti bene profuerit, male merenti par erit."
>
> Act ii. Sc. 2.

Rotrou, Du Ryer, and Roy have each written a play in imitation of the *Captivi*.*

But perhaps the best representative play is the *Trinummus*.

* See *Théâtre des Latins*, par J. B. Levée. Plante. 1820.

Though professedly borrowed from the Greek, the allegorical style of the prologue, spoken by Luxuria and Inopia, being in itself a relic of the newer Attic comedy, Plautus had made it entirely his own. Though he nowhere in this attains to such a height of poetic inspiration as in the preceding, yet there are comparatively few offenses in either art or morals. The plot is not an intricate one, and may perhaps be most tersely described by the argument prefixed to the play, in the limping acrostic,* which we have attempted to preserve in the translation:

"The Grecian Charmides on going abroad
Reveals to Callicles a treasure hid.
Intemperance ruins his son, who sells his house.
Now Callicles has bought it. He's to send
Unto the young. man's sister soon to be
Married, a dowry by a sharper who'll
Make her believe her father sent the gift.
Unlooked for Charmides returns, and thus
Sees the trick. Married then are both his children."

One of the most amusing characters in dramatic literature appears in this play in the person of the faithful slave Stasimus, "the classical prototype of Scott's Caleb Balderstone," whose ingenuity is taxed to the utmost to retain a suburban farm, the only one of Charmides' possessions not dissipated by his reckless son Lesbonicus, and which the latter insists upon giving his sister as her marriage portion. Callicles, his father's friend, finds a way out of the difficulty and determines that the hidden treasure shall supply the means of the dowry. In order that Lesbonicus shall not suspect whence the money came, Callicles, for three pieces of money (Trinummus), hires from the Forum a young sharper, "a lying, deceiving, impertinent scamp," to pretend that he has come with the money from Charmides himself. In order to carry out this trick, the

* These acrostic arguments, with which each play is prefaced, are supposed to have been written by Priscian, the Grammarian, about the middle of the fifth century, though of remarkably pure latinity for that date. The initials of the lines spell the title of the play, and as may be imagined, the Latin is generally of a much higher order than the poetry.

sharper is to be dressed in some outlandish costume so as to present a "foreign" appearance. In the meantime Charmides himself returns from abroad, and in his ecstacy at being safely restored to land after a long sea voyage breaks forth in a joyous tribute to Neptune. The following fragment, in which it is attempted to preserve the alliterative and bombastic style of the original, may serve as a specimen of the whole strain:

"Thou 'st been found quite faithful, though
Men keep saying thou'rt so faithless. Were it not for thee, I know
That thy servants would have torn me all to tatters, and that they
Would have pulled poor me to pieces hadst thou not kept them at bay;
And that most unmercifully they'd have scattered everywhere
O'er the sea's cerulean surface, all my goods and chattels rare.
Just like dogs, naught else, the angry storms surround a vessel's beak
While the winds and waves are wailing, and the showers shrilly shriek!
While the masts are split to splinters, and the yard-arms break and snap,
And the sails are torn to ribbands; this, e'en this forlorn mishap
Would have been had not thy kindly calm been nigh. Now, if you please,
Keep away, for in the future, I'm resolved to live at ease.
I've enough to live on. Ah! but with what trials I labored on,
While the riches I was seeking for my own, my only son!
Look! who's this that's coming up the street in that strange garb and guise
Tho' I want to be at home, I'll look wherein the meaning lies."

At this juncture the sharper appears in his strange dress, borrowed, as we are informed, from the city theatre, with the avowed object of preserving the delusion that he has just arrived from foreign lands. Accoutred in this absurd habit, his head surmounted by a huge, broad hat, his grotesque figure must have been greeted with roars of laughter from the audience. It is in allusion to his absurd head-piece that Charmides exclaims:

"This man is like a mushroom, for he seems
All head. His face appears Illyrian,
And such his costume seems to be."

The sharper, all unconscious that he is addressing the very person whose messenger he is supposed to be, immediately enters into a conversation with Charmides, and by his sharp retorts and impudent remarks, proves his aptitude for his

profession. When asked by Charmides to give his name, the sharper exclaims:

"A pretty heavy task is that, because
If you'd begin before the dawn to go
Thro' my whole name, 't would be your bed-time, ere
You'd reach the end. Tho' I've another name
About the bigness of a cask of wine,
A small one which I use for every day,
'T is Peace.

Charm—In sooth a roguish name. 'Tis just as tho'
Whatever I should trust to you, you'd cry,
'A piece!' * and then the whole should disappear!"

Charmides, of course, readily detects the imposture, but preserves his own *incognito* and subjects the sharper to such a severe cross-examination that all the wit and impudence of the latter are necessary to sustain him. In his desperation, he has even forgotten the name of his alleged employer, averring that while he was not thinking, he had unconsciously

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*"Edepol nomen nugatorium:
Quasi dicas, siquid crediderim tibi, 'pax' periise ilico."

In sacrificing the letter to the spirit of the original, the writer has the proud satisfaction of believing that this poor pun is no worse in the English than in the Latin. Brix calls attention to a similar use of *pax* in Terence; "*Unus est dies, dum argentum eripio: pax: nihil amplius.*" Heaut, IV, 3, 39.) For *pax*, some editions read *tax*, from *tango*, to steal, which Thornton renders as follows:

Sharp.—"'Tis Touchit—that, sir, is my name,
A common one,
Charm.—A very knavish name.
As though you meant to say, if anything
Was trusted to you, *touch it*, and it is gone."
(*Comedies of Plautus translated into familiar blank verses.* B. Thornton. London. 1869-74.)

A similar *double entente* appears in the *Pseudolus* of Plautus:

Ps.—"Sed quid est tibi nomen,
H.—Harpax,
Ps.—Apage te, Harpax han places.
Hoc quidem hercle hand ibis intro, nequid 'harpax' feceris."
Act II, Sc. 2.

swallowed it. When asked where he left his patron, for the sake of a reply, he unblushingly declares:

> "I left him in the land of Rhadama
> Somewhere in Monkeydom."

When asked to give an account of his adventures, he is ready with a traveller's story:

> "First to Arabia in Pontus lay
> Our course.
> *Char.*—What! is Arabia in Pontus!
> *Sharp.*—Surely, but not the one where people get
> Frankincense, but the one where wormwood grows,
> And chickweed that the fowls delight in. Then
> The stream whose source is just beneath the throne
> Of Jove we sailed—
> *Char.*—Beneath the throne of Jove!
> *Sharp.*—Ay, that is what I said—and from the very
> Middle of Heaven. We went straight up the sky
> Borne in a little boat against the current.
> But Jove we failed to see because he'd gone
> Out to his farm to give his slaves their feed;
> For so the other gods declared to us."

When Charmides at last reveals himself, the sharper's only relief is in abuse, which he lavishes without stint upon the returned wanderer, and in leaving sums it up the malediction,

> "Fare-ill, curst Charmides, may every god
> Ruin you now for coming from abroad."

The whole dialogue between Charmides and the sharper, extending through a hundred and fifty lines of long-trochaic verse, is replete with scintillations of wit, brilliant repartee and sharp retort, and should be read in full to be properly appreciated. It may not be the most exquisite poetry in the world; yet we may well believe that to the Romans of two thousand years ago it was delightfully fresh and piquant. The play ends satisfactorily upon Charmides discovering the real state of affairs. He recommends the faithfulness of his friend Callicles, presents his daughter with a respectable dowry, and apparently without consulting the wishes of either of the parties most interested, informs his penitent son that the daughter of Callicles is to be given him in marriage.

Those of our readers who are admirers of Lessing hardly need to be told whence the German poet derived his plot of *Der Schatz*. Indeed, as is well-known, Plautus was an early favorite with that celebrated dramatist and critic.

We have spoken of the *Trinummus* as a representative play, and we used the expression advisedly. For in it appear the favorite characters of Plautus, the fast young man, the simple-minded father, and the cunning, witty servant, while full scope is given to the author's fondness for moralizing. The slave Strasimus, though running in the greatest haste, still finds time to soliloquize upon the degenerate customs of the times, exclaiming in truly Plautian phraseology:

> " Utinam veteres veterum mores, veteris parsimoniæ
> Potius in majore honore hic essent quam mores mali !"

and the play abounds in maxims, puns and epigrams.

Another characteristic play is the *Pœnulus*, or Young Carthaginian. The plot is the one we have already described as being a favorite with Plautus. Hanno, the Carthaginian, in searching for his daughters lost in early childhood, comes to Calydon where they happen to be living, and where there also happens to be the young Carthaginian Agorastocles, who was stolen, too, when very young. Hanno first makes himself known to Agorastocles who turns out to be the son of a kinsman, and in this way discovers his daughters. Everything ends comfortably as it behooves a comedy to end. In the character of Hanno is seen an admirable embodiment of paternal affection and open-handed generosity. His life and fortune have been devoted to finding his lost daughters, and he no sooner discovers the relationship of Agorastocles than he cheerfully surrenders to his young kinsman the property left him by the father of Agorastocles, on the supposition of the death of the latter. The elder daughter Adelphasium is perhaps the best female character delineated in Plautus. Her coquetry with her lover Agorastocles seems very simple and natural,

and her rebuke of her sister's love of finery is very fittingly expressed:

> "Invidia in me nunquam ignata 'st, neque malitia, mea soror,
> Bono ingenis me esse ornatam, quam auro multo mavolo,
> Aurum in fortuna invenitur, natura ingenium bonum,
> Bonam ego quam beatum me esse nimio dici mavolo,
> Polchrum ornatum turpes mores pejus cœno conlinunt;
> Lepidi mores turpem ornatum facile factis conprobant;"
>
> Act I, Sc. 2

—a sentiment, which if it does not strike us of to-day as startingly new or original, is none the less true now than in the days of Plautus. Not less characteristic of the author is the sententious allegation a few lines preceding the above:—

> "Eo, illud statiu 'st satis quod satis est habitu, quam quod plus sat est."

The play of the *Mostellaria* or "Hob-goblin," is generally called in English translations by the name of "The Haunted House." Plot there is none, strictly speaking, the interest being centred in the ludicrous efforts of the slave Tranio, to prevent his master Theuropides, who has just returned from abroad, from entering his own house, which is represented as haunted; the truth being that Theuropides' son and a congenial spirit have been enjoying a carouse there in view of which his sudden appearance is decidedly mal à propos. The play is coarse in its conception, and has little to recommend it to popular favor; it being chiefly remarkable as being the original of Regnard's *Le Retour Imprévu*, and Fielding's *Intriguing Chambermaid*.

Cicero, in his *De Senectute*, informs us that Plautus himself thought very highly of his *Pseudolus*, an opinion apparently shared by Aulus Gellius. Besides being in its plot one of the most ingenious, it has certainly many amusing scenes, flashes of wit and repartees. The retorts between Simmia and Pseudolus are among the most amusing things in Plautus. Especially good is the soliloquy of Pseudolus after guaranteeing his penniless young master that he would somewhere in some way procure the money necessary to accomplish his

purpose of liberating his mistress. It is too long to quote in full, but the following lines are a good illustration:

> "As when the poet begins to write and seeks
> What nowhere in the world exists and finds it,
> And makes like truth what really is not true,
> So now shall I become a poet. This gold
> Which nowhere in the world exists, I'll find." *

The moral tone however is not the most elevated.

In the *Aulularia* we have a powerful exhibition of the struggles and miseries of a penurious miser, who has found a pot of gold, which he is in constant fear will be discovered. He drives away from his house the cooks and servants sent thither to prepare for his daughter's wedding feast, fearing that they may obtain a clue to his hidden treasure. He carries it off, but is watched by the servant of his daughter's lover, Lyconides. Strobilus, the servant, steals the treasure and the miser is in the depths of despair. Lyconides, however, persuades his servant to return it and in the end receives it for a marriage portion. The concluding part of the play has been lost, but there are two extant supplements—a very unsatisfactory one written by an anonymous author, and a much more excellent one by Codrus Urceus, which is generally adopted. Molière's play, *L'Avare*, though founded upon this, is a great improvement upon it. It also furnished material for three plays each entitled *The Miser*, written respectively by Shadwell, Wycherly and Fielding.

The *Bacchides*, or Twin Sisters, deserves nothing more than a passing notice; the best thing in it being the prologue, which is confessedly not by Plautus but probably by Petrarch. The play has little to attract and much to repel, and is insufferably dull.

The *Miles Gloriosus*, holds up in a comical light the ab-

* The sentiment here expressed is not unlike a caricature of that in the oft-quoted lines:

> "And as imagination bodies forth
> The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen
> Turns them to shapes and gives to airy nothing
> A local habitation and a name."

sorbing vanity of its chief character, Pyrgopolinices, and the wheedling flattery of his fulsome parasite, Artotrogus. The latter, when summoned by his master, answers in the following strain:

"Hic est, stat propter virum
Fortem atque fortunatum et forma regia
Tam bellatorem Mars se haut ausit dicere
Neque æquiperare suas virtutis ad tuas.
Pyr.—Quemne ego servavi in campis Gorgonidoniis
Ubi Bumbomachides Clutomestoridysarchides*
Erat imperator summus, Neptuni nepos?"

Act I, Sc. 1.

It would be as wearisome as it would be unprofitable to give a detailed description of the remaining plays. Though in the *Casina*, we have portrayed the anguish of a totally depraved, "bold, bad man," whose character is drawn with no flinching hand, the play is itself, in taste and morals, perhaps, without exaggeration, the poorest piece of literature endowed with immortality. The remaining eight are low in art, lower in morals, and thoroughly deficient in plot, with little or nothing to commend. The *Asinaria* derives an extrinsic interest from the fact that from it is quoted the favorite maxim of Louis XII: "*Necesse est sumptum, qui quærit lucrum.*" (Act I, Sc. 3.)

From a passage in the *Bacchides*,† we may infer that the *Epidicus* was a special favorite with its author, though it may have suffered from bad acting. Yet it is difficult to imagine how the most superb acting could relieve it from its dull commonplace. It is doubtful whether the *Mercator* and *Stichus* were ever written by Plautus at all, and the loss of them certainly would not detract from his reputation.

It is not as the writer of these latter plays that we prefer Plautus, but rather as the author of the *Captivi*, *Rudens*, *Menæchmi*, *Trinummus*, *Pœnulus* and *Pseudolus*. While

*Writers have professed to discern in these lines the original of the opening of *Bombastes Furioso*:

"Aldibarontiphoskifornio,
How left you Chrononhotonthologos?"

† Act II, Sc. 2.

reflecting, however, that there is excellent authority for the assertion that even Homer sometimes seems to nod, let us remember also that the chief fault of our poet was that he failed to represent a morality in advance of that of his contemporaries. "Of a man's merit," says the Abbé Galiani, "only his own age has a right to judge. But an age has a right to judge of another age." However we may dissent from this as a general proposition, in its special application to Plautus, its truth cannot be denied. The vices we condemn in him were not his own so much as those of an age in Roman history, especially wanting in culture and refinement.

Plautus is said to have been the first who raised Latin conversation to the dignity of a literary style. Certainly nothing could be more natural and life-like than many of the characters he delights to draw. Whether in displaying in a comical light the evils of avarice, as in the *Aulularia*, or in illustrating the horrors of slavery as in the *Pseudolus*, rendered the more hideous by its streak of comedy, or in showing up the ludicrous perplexities of a vaunting self-conceit, as in the *Miles Gloriosus*, the hero of which compresses his whole character in the exclamation:

> "O, may I ne'er be handsomer than now
> I am, so inconvenient is my beauty!"

it is the same master hand that is manifest: and the naturalness of many of the scenes to-day is good evidence of their truthfulness in the times of ancient Rome.

Yet we should not, from a blind prejudice in favor of everything belonging to the classics, allow ourselves to be warped from a just criticism of our author's faults as a dramatist. Though the main characters are generally well sustained, the minor personages are often decidedly weak, contributing nothing whatever to the general *dénouement* of the plot, and seeming to have no earthly reason for appearing at all. The women especially, as we have before hinted, are, with few exceptions, mere simpering creatures; sometimes appearing mute, and sometimes not appearing at all, leaving us no more impartial testimony as to their charms than may be gathered from the ejaculations of their agonized suitors.

So, too, the disposition of characters is frequently unsatisfactory, to say the least; some of the most entertaining persons unaccountably disappearing in the early part of the play; as for instance Grumio in the *Mostellaria* and Sceparnio in the *Rudens*. The latter play is especially faulty in its conclusion. We are left in darkness as to the fate of Ampelisca and her lover, while Dæmones is guilty of an act so thoroughly inconsistent with his supposed character as to make a table companion of a noted rascal. In the *Pœnulus*, Hanno, the Carthaginian, when, after years of vain searching, discovers his long-lost daughters, satisfies himself with examining them curiously in anything but a fatherly way, and after addressing them, so far forgets his kind and affectionate nature as to badger and tease the young maidens, before making himself known to them. Instances like these might be multiplied; but the errors, at the most, are not serious and may be well overlooked in a general review.

Certainly no writer, ancient or modern, ever succeeded in making vice ridiculous and thoroughly contemptible. Without indulging in any of the bitter personalities that characterized the old Athenian comedy, the characters he sought to satirize were types rather than individuals. The dissolute young man about town, the extravagant woman of fashion, and the humiliating relationship of patron and client, as embodied in the ridiculous parasite, are the subjects most frequently held up for ridicule. The returned soldier, boasting of his military achievements in foreign lands, a class with which even then Rome was inflicted, more than once comes in for his share of caricature. It was perhaps impossible that it should be otherwise. For the mind of Plautus seems to have been eminently receptive rather than creative, and his aim seems to have been to represent the Roman man and woman, rather than Roman men and women.

Whatever may be said of the puerility of many of the passages of Plautus, his comedies for this reason have a value which we shall hardly exchange for the *Æneid* itself. We see in them Roman life as it really was in the pre-Augustan age. Whatever exalted notions poetry and romance may have

thrown around the virtues of republican Rome are here dethroned, and we see domestic life as it really was, in all its attractiveness and in all its hideousness. For though the scenes and characters are professedly Greek, they are actually Roman. The poet speaks of Triumvirs at Thebes* and Athens,† of the Capitol in the Peloponnesus, ‡ and makes his pseudo-Greek actors so far forget their assumed nationality as to quote Roman proverbs ‖ and speak contemptuously of living like Greeks. § How far the scenes and manners are actually Roman is illustrated in a passage in the *Curculio*, the scene of which is theoretically in the Peloponnesus. The speaker points to the halls of the Basilica, describes the various surroundings of the Forum, and refers to the Curtian Lake, the rites of Venus Cloacina, the Temple of Castor, the Etrurian street, and the Velabrum, all noteworthy objects at Rome.¶

No history could give a more faithful picture of ancient Roman life and manners. We are constantly finding allusions to what we are often disposed to regard as peculiar to modern life;—the alleged extravagance of wives, the (however falsely attributed) harshness of step-mothers, the impudence of servants, the custom of making New-Year's presents and playing ball; besides others which strike us strangely, as the proverbial intemperance of nurses, the custom of taking after-dinner powders, the notion of the drinking rainbow, together with a thousand and one other allusions, which give to Roman history an increased interest.

But these plays have still another value quite as important, and that is a philological one. The puns, wretched as we may regard many of them, are of inestimable value, as contributing the best evidence we have of the ancient Roman pronunciation; while the archaic forms of the words are interesting as showing the gradual development of the language in successive

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* *Amphitryon*, Act I, Sc. 1. † *Asinaria*, I, 2. *Auluraria*, III, 7.

‡ *Curculio*, II, 2.

‖ *Casina*, III, 1. *Stichus*, IV, 1, &c.

§ *Bacchides*, IV, 4. *Mostellaria*, I, 1.

¶ *Curculio*. Act IV. Sc. 1.

generations. The only extant specimens of the Carthaginian language are to be found in Plautus's play of *Pœnulus*. Of the eighteen lines at the opening of the fifth act, according to Bochart, only the first ten are Carthaginian, the remaining eight being probably Lybic. Samuel Petit regarded them as Hebrew and contrived to write out a translation of them. Others have thought them Chinese, Coptic or Persian; while others still affect to regard them as sheer gibberish, invented by Plautus himself. The last view has certainly the advantage of preventing a great deal of useless speculation. For the benefit of such of our readers as are unfamiliar with them, we transcribe the first three lines without further comment:—

"Hyth alonim vualonuth sicorathi si ma com sith,
Chi mach chunyth mumys tyal mictibariim ischi,
Lipho canet luth bynuthi ad ædin bynuthii," etc., etc.

Paradoxical as it may seem, Plautus was at heart a moralist. He introduces his moral reflections upon the most incongruous occasions. And no modern writer has excelled him in the wisdom of his utterances or in epigrammatic terseness of expression. His works abound in verbal quibbles and alliterations. Such jingles as the following are very frequent:

"Omnis omnia optata offerant."
"Strepitus, crepitus, sonitus, tonitus."
"Optumo optume optumam operam."
"Quem ego qui sit nescio
Neque novi neque natus necne is fuerit id solide scio."

For some unknown reason the study of Plautus, the great poet of republican Rome, has been generally neglected in America. His works have been, we believe, introduced into but few of our colleges, and he is even now known chiefly by hearing his name constantly coupled with that of Terence. As is usual in all matters requiring investigation and research, Germany is far ahead in its contributions to Plautian literature. Ritschl, perhaps the greatest Plautian scholar that has ever lived, began in 1848 to restore Plautus, and continued till 1854, after which he continued his work of investigating inscriptions. Certainly, nothing could be more ingenious than the lines composed by himself to fill a vacancy caused by the loss of

several verses from the *Trinummus*. Fleckeisen, Brix and others have labored indefatigably in the same field.

So long as we retain our present notion of what a classical training should consist, the importance of the study of Plautus will, we suppose, be generally ignored. And so long as the present ingenious method of rendering the study of the classics as distasteful as possible continues, it is hardly reasonable to expect that the study of the great master-pieces of antiquity will extend much beyond the college course.

If we will, in imagination, transfer ourselves back to the Plautian age, before the existence of a national Latin literature, and listen to the simple and sincere expressions of the poet, whose wit and humor attracted all classes of citizens, and whose imitators are found among the greatest names in modern literature, we shall probably have little difficulty in agreeing with the opinion of Ælius Stolo, "that the Muses would use the language of Plautus, if they were to speak in Latin."

Amid all the changes of five centuries of Roman history the plays of Plautus retained their popularity. A ticket to his *Casina* was found at Pompeii, showing that his play must have been acted shortly before A. D. 79. From what has already been said regarding the morality of this piece, its popularity with the Pompeiians may easily be accounted for. According to Arnobius, the *Amphitryo* was acted as late as the close of the third century after Christ. During the middle ages we find but little reference to Plautus; though in the year 1304 an account was written of him by Petrus Crinitus, a Florentine.

The life of Plautus was a triumphant struggle with adversity. From a most menial and degrading position, he rose to wield a mighty influence over the minds of his countrymen. We are often tempted to rebuke him for his constant catering to popular passions and prejudices. Yet while we mete out to him just censure for his faults in this respect, let us not overlook the servile mannerisms of the greater poets of the Augustan age, who sought to gain fame and favor by chanting the glories of an imperial despotism.

ART. V.—1. *Causes Célèbres.* Par GAYOT DE PITAVAL. Tomes XX. Paris. 1733-43.

2. *Lettres de Madame de Sévigné.* Tomes XII. Paris. 1862-4.

3. *Institutes de Serre.* Par PIERRE-FRANÇOIS-HERCULE SERRE. Paris.

4. *Ancient Law.* By SIR HENRY MAINE. London. 1860.

AMONG the many and varied branches of foreign and domestic jurisprudence, few have undergone more frequent and remarkable changes than the Laws of Hereditary Succession and Testamentary Disposition. It may not be uninteresting to note a few of these changes; and first as to the *Action of Irato.*

The ancient Roman law, in conceding to the head of a family absolute and almost sovereign jurisdiction, a jurisdiction extending even to the power of life and death over its members, of necessity conferred absolute power of disposition over property, whether hereditary or acquired by the exertions of the testator: *Ute quisque suæ rei legasset, ita jus esto.*

This power was, however, at an early period of the Roman Republic, found expedient to limit; and it is a remarkable fact that the first limitations of which we have historical evidence, were not so much in favor of, as adverse to the interest of the natural heir at law.

It had become a practice of frequent occurrence among the affluent men at Rome to encumber their testamentary dispositions with large legacies and bequests in trust. The payment of these legacies, and the fulfillment of these trusts were, however, as a rule, dependent on the good faith of the party constituted heir by the will, and could not be enforced at law. To obviate this difficulty it became customary for the testator to insert a conditional clause in the will to the following effect: "I constitute Caius my heir on condition that he pay to such and such parties the following legacies," or "on condition that he fulfill the following trust" (*fidei commissioni*).

It not unfrequently happened that either intentionally, or

owing to some miscalculation on the part of the testator, the legacies and trusts contained in the will were so extensive as to exhaust the whole estate, or even bring the heir into debt. In these cases the heir had the alternative of renouncing the estate conferred upon him by the will; in which case the latter fell to the ground, and the property of the testator descended to the heir at law as if he had died intestate, *ab intestato*.

To remedy this defect in jurisprudence, the two laws were passed, known (from the names of the Consuls under whom they were enacted) as the *Lex Falcidia* and the *Lex Trebelliana*. By the first of these laws the heir was entitled to reserve for his own use one-fourth of every legacy or special trust; by the second, the same right was extended to general trusts or *fidei-commissa*. These privileges were adopted in such of the French provinces as were governed by the Roman law, (*pays du droit écrit*) and were respectively known under the *quart Falcidie* and the *quart Trébellianque*.

A further advance and one more distinctly in favor of the heir was made by the statute which entitled the heir at law in every case to a certain proportion of the paternal estate. This principle was also adopted by the French provinces, which retained the civil law, and the proportion so reserved was known as the *légitime*.

The amount of the *légitime* varied according to the number of children. In case the number did not exceed four, the *légitime*, to which each child was entitled and of which his parents could not deprive him even by will (except in certain specified cases), was one-third of the portion which he would have inherited in case his ancestor had died intestate. If, however, the number of children exceeded four, one-half of the whole estate was to be divided between them.

The law of the *légitime* was considered so admirable by the early French legislators that it was adopted extensively into those provinces in which the civil law did not prevail, but which were governed by their own peculiar customs (*pays coutumiers*). Certain of these provinces went even beyond the civil law, and authorized parents to claim a right of *légi-*

time in the estates of such of their children as died without lineal heirs.

The established mode of annulling a will which was intended to deprive the children and heirs at law of their *légitime*, was known under the civil code, and also in the *pays du droit écrit*, which followed it, as the action *de inofficioso testamento*. This action was based on a presumed mental incapacity, or on the assumption that the unjust disposition had been prompted by anger, which was considered a temporary madness. Provided, however, that the testator bequeathed to each child or lawful heir his *légitime*, he was at liberty to dispose of the residue of his estate as he saw fit, and no court could investigate his motives; and even where he attempted to reduce the provision for any child to less than his regular *légitime*, the court would interfere only to the extent of securing to such child the full amount of his legitimate portion.

If, however, the testator expressly disinherited one of his children, or omitted to make any provision for him in his will, the disinherited, or omitted child, could have the entire will declared void by the action *de inofficioso testamento*. The legacies and special dispositions were nevertheless allowed to stand, and the disinherited child could claim only his proproportion of the *residuum*.

This was the law as it stood in the civil code, and in the *pays du droit écrit* in which it was adopted. In the *pays coutumiers* (that is to say the regions in which the peculiar customs of each province and not the civil law prevailed) a principle was established far more favorable to the heirs at law. In these provinces, not only could the disinherited child bring his action *de inofficioso testamento*, (which, however, entitled him merely to the restoration of his *légitime*) but in case he could show that an unreasonable hatred or anger had induced the testator to disinherit him, he might have his action *ab irato patre*, or *ab iratâ matre*, (as the case might be) to have the entire will set aside, and the succession declared open as in cases of intestacy.

Pierre de Fontaine (in the XIIIth century) says: "A father may disinherit his daughter for misconduct, provided he be

moved thereto by displeasure at her misconduct only, and not by any other cause of anger." Elsewhere he states: "Provided it do not appear that the parent has made such bequest more from hatred to his children than in return for services rendered by the legatee."

There is some uncertainty as to whether the action *ab irato* could be sustained in the provinces which were governed by the Roman law, but there is no doubt that in these provinces the disinherited child had his action *de inofficioso testamento*, by which, if successful, he could have the whole will set aside; but whether he could attack a will by the action *ab irato* (in cases where the will accorded him his *légitime*) is extremely doubtful.

The Institutes of Serre, Book II, Title 18, section 3, say distinctly, "In the *pays du droit écrit*, provided the children receive their *légitime*, the testator can dispose of his property as he pleases, even to a stranger."

One of the earliest decisions on this subject is found in the collections of Boniface, Vol. V, Book I, Title 4, chapter 1—a decision of the Parliament of Provence, December 5th, 1686.

The decedent had bequeathed all his property for the support of paupers (*des pauvres honteux*.) After his death, memoranda were found among his papers which manifested an unfounded malevolent disposition towards his sisters, and showed also that his mind in the latter part of his life was somewhat impaired. The sisters instituted the action *ab irato;* but the court held that the question was to be decided, not according to the law of the *pays coutumiers*, but according to the civil law, which conferred on brothers and sisters the right to contest a will only when it is in favor of a party who has been adjudged infamous; and the decree added that in no case, even in the *pays coutumiers*, was the action *ab irato* permitted in favor of collateral relatives.

This decision, besides misstating the law of the *pays coutumiers* (as we shall hereafter see), does not touch the question of the right of lineal heirs to bring this action, even in the *pays du droit écrit*. Some few decisions of a later date would

seem to imply that lineal descendants were occasionally allowed the benefit of this action even in those provinces.

It is certain that the Parliament of Paris, when called upon to adjudge cases arising in the *pays du droit écrit*, extended to such cases the principles of the *pays coutumiers*. For instance, on the 9th of August, 1642, that court set aside the testamentary dispositions made by Anne de Rostain, (a resident of Lyon, which was governed by the civil law), because made under the influence of anger against her children.

Simone Roux, a native of Forez (*pays du droit écrit*), had by her first husband, Bénoit Maget, two daughters, Simone and Jeanne Maget. After the decease of Bénoit Maget she married the Sieur de Vignancourt. Her eldest daughter she made a nun, after having induced her to execute a will in her favor; the youngest married the Sieur Artaud. The latter obtained a decree setting aside the will of his sister-in-law, and adjudging the Dame de Vignancourt to render an account of her guardianship of the estate of both daughters. This so incensed the mother, that after her daughter's decease, she made a will devising all her estate to a distant relative, and disinheriting her grandchildren, to whom she left merely a legacy of one hundred *livres* each. The Sieur Artaud, as guardian for his children, brought the action *ab iratâ matre*. The court set the will aside, July 12th, 1688.

This shows that the Parliament of Paris, whenever it had the opportunity, relaxed the rigor of the civil law, even in the provinces where it prevailed.

The Parliament of Dijon adopted the same rule, on the principle that in the Duchy of Burgundy the civil law partially prevailed.

These decisions are, however, so manifestly exceptional and intended to soften the rigor of the civil law, that we may infer, (as a general rule) that the action *ab irato* was not sustainable in the *pays du droit écrit*.

Secondly: The action *ab irato* was originally instituted for the protection of children whom their parents might have disinherited in anger.

The right to bring this action was, however, extended to parents disinherited by their children; and, singularly enough, parents enjoyed this privilege even in provinces which did not confer on them the right of *légitime* in their descendants' estates.

The Parliament of Paris, by decree of February 12, 1583, set aside the will of a son who declared as a reason for devising his estate to the poor, that his father had refused to render him an account of an estate of which he was guardian.

The same Parliament, by decree of July 15, 1756, set aside the will of Sieur Grimaud, who, being worth two millions, bequeathed to his mother only an annuity of sixteen thousand *livres*.

It was very rarely that collateral relatives were permitted to bring this action; but in special instances in which it clearly appeared, from the language of the will itself, that they had been disinherited not with deliberate intent, but in a sudden fit of anger, the benefit of this action was extended to them.

The Customs of Brittany (Article 199) expressly extended to heirs presumptives the right to set aside wills prompted by unreasonable hatred.

In the once celebrated case of the will of Monsieur de Camus (hereinafter cited), the decree expressly states that "Collateral relatives are not at liberty to allege any motive of hatred, *unless it appear by the terms of the will itself*. As to lineal descendants, this is not required; but it sufficeth that such a motive for the dispositions of the testator can be made to appear *aliunde*."

The same distinction is insisted upon by Record, Part I, chapter 3, section 114, where, after stating that collaterals are not admitted to prove the fact of hatred as a motive for their disinheritance, he adds "that it is otherwise when it appears in the will itself that the devise was made for motives of vengeance, and not out of favor for the devisee."

Thus the Parliament, by decree of March 4, 1602, set aside a will in which the collateral relatives, who where thereby disinherited, were likewise mentioned in terms of insult and denunciation.

Another question which frequently arose in the ancient French courts, was whether, in order to sustain the action *ab irato*, it were necessary that the disinherited party should be himself the object of the testator's displeasure.

This question was finally determined in the negative by a series of decisions.

By decree of March 3, 1643, the Parliament of Paris set aside the will of a wife who, out of hatred to her husband, disinherited her children, the will itself expressing the reason.

By decree of January 10, 1658, the Parliament annulled the dispositions of the Dame de Thiersault, made adversely to her daughter, although actuated by hatred to her son-in-law, François Paulard, only.

By decree of July 12, 1688, it set aside the will of a grandmother, who disinherited her grandchildren out of hatred to their father.

But the most remarkable case was that of the Lieutenant Civil de Camus,* decided May 9, 1712. This magistrate had married his only daughter to Monsieur de Nicolaï, first president of the Chamber of Accounts. From this marriage, which lasted only six years, were born two children, Monsieur de Nicolaï de Goussainville and Mademoiselle de Nicolaï. Monsieur de Nicolaï, after the death of his wife, had several differences with his father-in-law on the subject of the education of his son. On a second marriage which he contracted, a final rupture occurred between him and Monsieur de Camus, which resulted in a law suit between them. Finally Monsieur de Camus made a will in which Mademoiselle de Camus was constituted sole devisee, to the exclusion of Monsieur de Goussainville, and in which it was provided that in the event of her decease without issue, the whole estate should revert to collateral relatives of the testator. A special clause in the will prohibited Mademoiselle de Nicolaï from marrying without the written consent of her grandmother, Madame de Camus.

This will was disputed on the ground that it had been prompted by the testator's avowed personal hatred to Mon-

* Referred to in the Letters of Madame de Sévigné.

sieur de Nicolaï; and was annulled by decree of August 31st, 1711. On the appeal from this decree Monsieur l'avocat-général Chauvelin, after reciting all the circumstances, delivered the opinion of the Court, to the effect that there was no evidence of hatred on the part of the testator toward Monsieur de Goussainville, but that the will indicated a strong feeling of hostility toward Monsieur de Nicolaï: that this was proven by the care taken by the testator to prevent the possibility of the succession in any event accruing to Monsieur de Nicolaï, or to any person who might possibly bear his name. The decree, annulling the will was, therefore, confirmed May 9th, 1712.*

Thirdly: Cases are on record in which the action *ab irato* was sustained for the purpose of setting aside gifts *inter vivos* as well as testamentary dispositions. A father had in his lifetime made large donations to two of his daughters who were unmarried and advanced in years. A third daughter, who was married, together with his son, the Canon de Chartres, attacked this disposition as made *ab irato patre.* The father, as a pretext for the donation, had urged the alleged poverty of his daughters and the wealth of his other children; and, moreover, that he had received more services from them as they had never abandoned him. Nevertheless, as he had made no provision for his other children, either by will or otherwise, it was held that they were presumably passed over and indirectly disinherited without reasonable cause; and that, in consequence, they should not be limited to their *légitime*, but that the donation should be absolutely set aside, and an equal partition decreed among the children.

It must be admitted that this decision carried the principle of the action *ab irato* to its very utmost extent.

For some time there was a question whether donations under a marriage contract were in their nature exempt, or whether they were also subjects of attack by the action *ab irato.*

It would appear, from a decision of the Parliament of

* *Causes célèbres.* Gayot de Pitaval, Tome VIII.

Rennes, and another of the Parliament of Paris, that they were exempted, owing to the sacred rights of the parties to the marriage contract, and of the issue which might spring therefrom.

In the first case, the donor had married late in life, and by the marriage contract settled his whole estate on his wife. He had stated openly, both verbally and in writing, that he married simply for the purpose of depriving his heirs of their succession. Nevertheless, the donation was held good.

In the second, Madame de Camus had made to the Marquis de Flamarans a large donation, in consideration of his marriage with Mademoiselle de Blauvan, and had, moreover, left him considerable legacies. The donation and the legacies were both attacked by the action *ab irato*. The legacies were pronounced invalid, but the donation was allowed to stand.

On the other hand, a decree of February 29, 1688, expressly annulled donations made under cover of a marriage contract, in favor of two sons of their respective marriages, to the detriment of a daughter who had embraced the Roman Catholic religion, the family being Protestant.

This would seem almost to decide the question, were it less evident that the fact that the Roman Catholic faith was the religion of the land, had great and probably conclusive influence in effecting the decision. This is apparent from the language used in the decree. "It is easy to see that these donations were made out of hatred to the daughter for having embraced the Catholic faith; and that liberty should not be granted to parents professing the so-called reformed religion to deprive their Catholic children of the best part of their inheritance for the benefit of those who may be of the same faith with themselves; which would be a liberty too dangerous for the public in its consequences."

The motives which prompted this decision being so frankly avowed, we are justified in regarding it as an exceptional case; and in the absence of other authorities, it seems probable that donations *causâ matrimonii* were protected from the operation of the action *ab irato*.

Fourthly: Although the action *ab irato* would appear from its title to have been intended as a remedy only in cases where the dispositions were prompted by violent and recent anger, a long series of decisions show that it was extended to cases where the disposition had grown out of ancient and deeply rooted hatred.

This was established in the celebrated Camus case above cited. "As anger," said Monsieur l'avocat-général Chauvelin, "is not the sole passion which obscures the reason, so neither is it the sole passion that can invalidate a testamentary disposition. Hatred, which, though less sudden, is more obstinate than anger, implants in the heart roots yet deeper. Time, which effaces all things, and which diminishes the force of most passions, intensifies and strenghtens this one. Its effects, though less prompt than those of anger, are more deliberate and dangerous. If, like anger, it inspire the desire of vengeance, it leaves the spirit time to cloak its vengeance; it is therefore more dangerous because more difficult to detect. It is not therefore surprising that the courts should as often have annulled testamentary dispositions instigated by an unjust hatred as those which result from anger."

To sustain an action *ab irato* on the ground of hatred, it was necessary to establish, first, that the hatred was clearly manifested; secondly, that it was unjust; and lastly, that it had prompted the disposition which it was sought to set aside.

The absence of the first of these requisites caused many an action *ab irato* to terminate unsuccessfully.

Adam Falargeau, a protestant physician, had made a will whereby he largely preferred those of his relatives who professed the same faith with himself. His Roman Catholic next of kin claimed that he had so acted in hatred of the religion which they professed, and that this was manifested in the terms of the will itself. The court held that the will was valid, having been made by a party in his right mind, and under no irritating influences; that there where phrases used in the preamble which seemed offensive to those of the Catholic religion, but that the mere expression of the testator's views did not prove disturbance of his testamentary capacity by

hatred or anger. The will was confirmed by decree of June 6, 1628.

This decision is the more remarkable as the religious prejudices of the court must necessarily have been in favor of the contestants who were of the same faith with the judges themselves. It shows either a fairness of mind on the part of the judges, which was unusual in the seventeenth century, or a strong disposition to restrain the action *ab irato* within definite and prescribed limits.

A woman named Gallet, who left a daughter and a grandchild, issue of a deceased son, bequeathed a disproportionate share of her estate to the former The mother of the grandchild, who was also his guardian, sought to set aside the disposition as made *ab iratâ*. The Court held, "That although judgment had been recovered against the testatrix in her lifetime for the benefit of her grandson, there was no proof that this fact had influenced her will; and that the court would not presume anger against a child who acted only by guardian." The will was sustained April 23, 1709. The Dame Laurent had for heirs presumptive two nieces, of whom one was married to the Sieur Verreau, and the other to the Sieur Martin. The former had once gone to law with her aunt, but they had been reconciled. Difficulties subsequently arose between the sisters, and the aunt having offered her mediation, each sister gave her a blank power of attorney to regulate the affair with the aid of two arbitrators. Two years having elapsed without any action having been taken under these powers of attorney, the Dame Verreau, after several personal and respectful applications for the return of her power, sued her aunt to compel its restoration. On the very morning following the commencement of the suit, the Dame Laurent made a will in which she declared that neither the Dame Verreau nor any of her descendants were to have any portion of her estate. The Dame Verreau claimed that this will was prompted by anger, which conclusion appears inevitable; yet the will was pronounced valid by decree of December 19, 1710.

Although this decision is commonly cited as an instance in which the action *ab irato* failed by reason of the hatred

which prompted the will not having been made sufficiently apparent, it is so completely at variance with all other decisions on the subject, that we must look for some other explanation of it. The circumstances of the case render it indubitable that the will of the Dame Laurent was instigated not only by hatred of her niece, the Dame Verreau, but by a very recent anger which was inspired by the action brought against her by the latter. The true explanation of this decision lies undoubtedly in the fact that the Dame Verreau was only heir presumptive to her aunt, and a collateral relative. Accordingly the decision is sustained by the law (cited above in the case of Monsieur de Camus) that "collateral relatives are not at liberty to allege any motive of hatred *unless it appear in the will itself.*" As the Dame Laurent had apparently been silent in her will relative to the motives which induced her to disinherit the Dame Verreau, the latter was not at liberty to adduce intrinsic evidence of hatred. It is to be regretted that the principle of law on which this decision was founded should not have been more distinctly stated.

The following cases are more to the point: Monsieur Ossy, president of the Parliament of Metz, had in 1711 a lawsuit with his daughter Madame Berthier. In 1719 he made a will wherein he constituted his two sons his sole heirs. Madame Berthier brought suit to set this will aside as made *ab irato;* but as the lawsuit had lasted but a short time, the amount involved, inconsiderable, and eight years had elapsed between the conclusion of the suit and the execution of the will, it was held that the hatred was not sufficiently manifest, and the will was established by decree of July 24, 1722.

The Sieur Morgues had been twice married. By his first marriage he had a son for whom he appears to have entertained but little affection. At sixteen years of age this son went into service in which he remained seven years. On his return his father sent him to a house in the country where he employed him in the most menial capacities. The young man, having learned the manufacture of mathematical instruments, went eventually to live at the Arsenal and established a small business on his own account. Having contracted

debts, he was imprisoned in 1768. His father took him out of prison, and yielding to the solicitations of friends, settled upon him in 1770 a pension of three hundred livres, but resolutely refused to see him.

In February 1770 the Sieur Morgues lost his wife, and in September of the same year he married a young woman by whom he had two daughters. The father's antipathy to his son appears to have steadily increased, until in 1776 he made a will whereby he reduced him to his *légitime*, constituting his daughters his sole heirs. He died in 1778. The younger Morgues brought an action to annul the will, which he based on the hatred which his father had habitually manifested toward him; but sufficient proof of the alleged hatred not having been adduced, and the Court holding that the aversion of the father might be presumed to have arisen from displeasure at his son's irregularities, the devise to the daughters was confirmed by decree of May 8, 1780, and the son charged with costs.

To sustain successfully the action *ab irato*, it was essential to establish that the hatred was unjust.

The widow Alou had three children: two sons, Charles and Louis, and a daughter married to Monsieur de Bregalier, counsellor of Paris. She made a will by which Madame de Bregalier was largely preferred to her brothers. The two sons contested the will, and proved conclusively that the testatrix was actuated solely by aversion to them. It was shown, however, that the sons had habitually ill-treated their mother, and the court therefore established the will by decree of April 24, 1662, remarking that the deceased would have been justified in disinheriting her sons altogether.

On the other hand, an unjust hatred, clearly established, was always held to be a valid ground for setting aside a will, as in the following instances:

Louise Peneau, wife of the Sieur du Quesnel de Guépigny, had conceived hatred towards her husband arising from ill-treatment on his part which resulted in their separation. She had three children, a son and two daughters. The youngest daughter adhered to her mother after the separation;

the eldest daughter and the son remained with their father. The Dame de Guépigny made a will whereby she constituted her youngest daughter her sole legatee. The elder children attacked the will. It was proved that the testatrix had made this disposition out of hatred to the children who had adhered to their father; and by decree of August 19, 1702, it was ordered that without regard to the will, the estate of the Dame de Grépigny be distributed *ab intestatâ*. The legatee appealed, and the decree was affirmed March 11, 1704.

The Sieur Girardin, on separating from his wife, retained with him his sons Félix and Michel Girardin. The Dame Girardin was accompanied by her daughter Marie-Anne, who married at her mother's instance and without the assent of her father, who thereupon disinherited her. The Dame Girardin made a will wherein she constituted her daughter sole legatee. The will was set aside by decree of August 19, 1757, on the ground that the Dame Girardin was actuated by hatred to her sons on account of their attachment to their father, and by a desire to indemnify her daughter for the just disinheritance she had brought upon her from her father.

Wills were frequently broken by the action *ab irato*, where the heirs were disinherited for having taken steps to place their parents under necessary legal restraint; and also where the wills of a step-mother had prejudiced the father against the children of a former marriage, and caused him to make a will unfavorable to such children.

Antoine Gamot, a watchmaker by profession, had twice married. On the 15th of April, 1673, he made a will by which he reduced the children of the first marriage to their *légitime*, and left the bulk of his fortune to the children of the second wife. After his death, the children of the first marriage attacked the will as made *ab irato*. They showed in support of their claim that their father had banished them from his house, and that they had been obliged to sue him for the property which they had inherited from their mother. The court attached no weight to these facts and affirmed the will; but on appeal the judgment was reversed, and an equal distribution of the estate ordered.

Fifthly: The cases in which the laws relating to the action *ab irato* were most rigorously applied, were those in which the disposition had been the result of religious differences.

Special statutes enacted in 1576, 1577 and 1598, decreed that "no disinheritance or gift *inter vivos* made solely on the ground of religion should be valid, either of those already subsisting or thereafter to be made."

These laws were originally passed for the Roman Catholics and Protestants impartially; but the edict of 1685 expressly deprived the latter of all benefit of these statutes. This was at the time of the ascendency of Madame de Maintenon, and may be explained by that fact.

The question still continued to arise in the case of wills made by parties whose property lay in France, but who, from religious or other motives, resided in Protestant countries.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, there resided in Holland a wealthy landholder, the Baronne de Walkemberg. A zealous Protestant, she held the Romish tenets in horror; especially upon the passage of an act banishing all Protestants from France, her only child, the Dame de Rencurel espoused the Catholic faith. Under these circumstances, she made a will on the 21st of May, 1694, by which she devised and bequeathed all her property to her executors in trust to receive the rents and profits and pay them over to her daughter during her life, and after her decease to such of her issue as should embrace the reformed religion, to the rigid exclusion of such as might hold the Roman Catholic faith. This trust to continue to the fourth generation.

The textatrix died in November, 1699, and the trust went into operation for the benefit of the Dame de Rencurel. In 1703, the latter took the oath of fidelity to the States General of Holland in the name of her son, Jean George de Rencurel, then seven years of age.

In 1725, Josine de Rencurel, daughter of the Dame de Rencurel, who was deceased, publicly abjured the Roman Catholic faith in order to exclude her brother under the will; and by decree of the High Council of Holland she was put in possession of the trust estate. A subsequent decree mo-

dified the first by providing that the revenues should be paid exclusively to the Demoiselle de Rencurel so long only as she continued to profess the reformed religion, and the other descendants of the Baronne de Walkemberg did not.

In 1727, the Demoiselle de Rencurel married the Sieur Maudry, a citizen of Geneva, and by decree of July 17, 1736, he was substituted in the place of the former trustee of the estate. The Sieur Maudry took the opportunity to sell the quarter part of the trust estate, and transfer the proceeds to France for investment. He died in 1762 and his wife in 1767, leaving for sole heir a daughter married to the Baron de Bagge.

In 1773, the daughter of Jean George de Rencurel brought suit against the Baronne de Bagge for a share in the estate of the Baronne de Walkemberg, their great-grandmother.

The Baronne de Bagge opposed the claim on the ground that the Roman Catholic descendants of the Dame de Rencurel were excluded by the will of the Baronne de Walkemberg, and that Jean George de Rencurel and his daughter having always professed the Roman Catholic faith, had no interest in the estate.

The defence came most ungraciously from the Baronne de Bagge, who had herself recently professed the Roman Catholic faith; but the Demoiselle de Rencurel having died leaving no issue to claim the inheritance, the question was limited to the right to the rents and profits received during her life and the life of her father.

The one question involved in the litigation was whether the exclusion of the Catholic descendants under the will were a valid exclusion. Supposing this to be the case, the Dame Maudry had been lawfully in the receipt of the whole revenues, and her daughter, the Baronne de Bagge, had nothing to return. Taking the opposite view, the restitution of the rents and profits was inevitable, the Sieur Maudry and his wife, by letters written to the Sieur de Rencurel and afterwards to his daughter, having put it out of their power, and out of the power of the Baronne de Bagge, their heir, to plead the law which conferred on *bona fide* possessors the

right to all rents and profits received prior to the suit brought.

The question was accordingly adjusted between the Baronne de Bagge and the creditors of the Demoiselle de Rencurel, although all Roman Catholics, as if the action had been between the Demoiselle de Rencurel herself and the Dame Maudry; or in other words, between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant.

The Parliament of Paris by decree of 1777 adjudged the Baronne de Bagge to account to the creditors of the Demoiselle de Rencurel for one-half of the rents and profits received by the Sieur Maudry and his wife accruing from the trust estate of the Baronne de Walkemberg, and to furnish an exact inventory of the estate of the said Baronne de Walkemberg.

This decree amounted to a decision that a disinheritance effected even in Holland from motives of hatred to the Roman Catholic religion could not be recognized as valid in France, and that the party who had profited by it could be compelled by law to restore the rents and profits received.

This decision was undoubtedly in accordance with the views generally entertained in France prior to the Revolution; notwithstanding which fact, the Baronne de Bagge having appealed to the High Council of Paris, the decree of 1777 was reversed by judgment of October 5, 1778; and by special decree of March 5, 1781, the creditors of the Demoiselle de Rencurel were declared to be not entitled to any share in the succession of the Baronne de Walkemberg or the trust estate created by her will. The decision was based on the general principle that a will could be adjudged void only by the tribunals of the country where it had been proven; and that the High Council of Holland having pronounced the will of the Baronne de Walkemberg valid under the laws of the United Provinces, the courts of France could not interfere with its provisions even when they were to be enforced within French jurisdiction.

While strictly enforcing the statutes invalidating all bequests made out of hatred to the established religion, the courts of France were far from assuming that every bequest to a party professing the faith of the testator to the prejudice of

relatives holding the established religion was necessarily actuated by a motive of hatred. This they left to be established by the same evidence as any other alleged motive on which was founded the action *ab irato*.

This was established by a decree of July 10, 1647, in the case of a donation *inter vivos*, which the collateral relatives attacked on the ground that the donor and donee were Protestants, whereas they, the contesting parties, professed the established faith. Monsieur l'avocat-général Talon observed in the decree that "disinheritance on account of religion is invalid; but it does not follow that the decedent may not have had some personal preference for the party professing the same faith with himself; and it cannot be assumed that he preferred him out of hatred to the established religion."

A similar decree was rendered April 12, 1685, which sustained a legacy given by the Dame de Maudegris to a protestant lawyer, which legacy was attacked by the collateral relatives on the same ground. "It is true, (such is the language of the decree,) that article 26 of the *Edit de Nantes* applies to donations made in prejudice of a collateral heir, as well as to those which disinherit a lineal descendant, when it appears that the bequest had not other motive than that of hatred to religion; but whoever attacks a bequest valid in form on the ground of a vicious motive which is alleged to have actuated it, must furnish proof of the alleged vicious motive; and the party who has a well authenticated instrument in his favor, is not required to establish by proof a worthy motive for his testator's liberality. There is no law which prohibits professors of the so-called reformed religion from bequeathing their property to those of their own faith, although their heirs presumptive may be Roman Catholics; unless it be conclusively established that the bequest was actuated by motives of hatred to the religion of the land."

To the same effect was the decision in the case of the will of Adam Falargeau above cited.

In other words, the same rule prevailed in regard to the action *ab irato* when founded on a question of religion, as in actions founded on other grounds of displeasure, namely, that

to annul a bequest or devise by means of this action, it must be clearly established that the hatred or anger alleged by the heir at law was the actual motive which impelled the testator to make the devise or bequest which it was sought to overthrow by the action.

Sixthly: The proof required to be made in the action *ab irato* of the alleged hatred or anger on which the suit was based, was, as a general rule, to be sought in the instrument which the action was brought to set aside, and in the language of the devise or bequest which diverted the inheritance from the heir at law. Where the contestants were collaterals, this rule was inflexible, and no evidence of hatred or anger, even when appearing plainly in other parts of the will, was allowed any weight, unless the motive could be inferred from the terms of the bequest itself.

This rule, which evidently proceeded from the indisposition of the courts to concern themselves with the interests of collateral relatives, unless a vicious motive was manifested beyond question, was not unfrequently invoked by the beneficiaries, even where the contestants were lineal heirs.

This was the case in the celebrated suit brought to set aside the will of Monsieur de Camus. The decision in this case had been based mainly on the evidence of hatred contained in the provisions by which in the event of the decease of Mademoiselle de Nicolaï without issue, the succession was to pass to collateral relatives of his mother rather than to Monsieur de Nicolaï or Monsieur de Goussainville. Mademoiselle de Nicolaï claimed that the sole effect of the hatred manifested by this preference was to destroy the clause in the will which created it, namely, the provisions affecting the succession, leaving the original devise of the whole estate to her undisturbed. "The devise," she urged, "is pure and simple: the testator gives me his entire estate. Allowing that the conditions which follow are invalid, they do not invalidate the devise, the terms of which contain no evidence of ill-will towards my father or brother."

Monsieur l'avocat-général Chauvelin, in his decree, ex-

poses the fallacy of this argument. "The will in the first instance," he remarks, "contains a devise of the whole estate in favor of Mademoiselle de Nicolaï; this provision is succeeded by certain conditions regulating the right of succession under which the testator chose the devise to take effet.

"The question before the Court is not whether these conditions are valid or otherwise. That question could be urged only between Monsieur de Goussainville and the heirs of Mademoiselle de Nicolaï, supposing her to have received the inheritance. Our object is to ascertain the motive which induced the testator to make this disposition. What evidence can be stronger than that of the other dispositions, showing what the testator intended to do by what he has done?

"The whole will contributes to show the motive of Monsieur de Camus. The principal devise, as well as the accompanying conditions, was his work; and if it be true that the hatred of Monsieur de Camus towards his son-in-law prompted said conditions, they cannot be so detached from the original devise as to permit us to attribute it to a different motive.

"We cannot assume that a testator in the same will was actuated at one time by a motive of hatred and at another by a reasonable preference; or that one motive prompted the conditions and another the main devise, especially when both conditions and devise are to the prejudice of the same individual. We cannot, therefore, separate the devise from the conditions appended thereto. If the latter be vicious, they involve the original devise, inasmuch as all were actuated by the same motive."

Upon these judicious considerations, the decree was affirmed.

This decision settled the law that hatred and anger could be established by lineal heirs from evidence appearing in other portions of the will than that directed especially against them.

This rule of law was still more effectually established by the following decision rendered seventy years later:

The Sieur Milot owed to his son on account of the estate of his deceased wife. This the young man being unable to obtain by fair means, he brought an action against his father for an accounting of his mother's estate, which greatly incensed

the father. In 1775 the Sieur Milot made a will whereby he left all his property to his son-in-law in trust to receive the revenues and pay therefrom an annuity to his son for life. By a subsequent codicil he gave his son-in-law the estate absolutely, merely requesting him to provide for his son according to the terms of the former provisions of the will. The will was contested by young Milot, and by decree of July 28, 1771, the principal court at Laon established the will, but rejected the codicil as made *ab irato*. From this decision young Milot appealed.

Monsieur l'avocat-général d'Aguesseau de Fresne, in the decision of the appeal, declares the law in the following words: "The hatred or anger of the testator must appear in the language of the bequest itself in case the cause thereof be recent; but if the cause be of ancient date, it sufficeth to show that the provisions of the will result therefrom. A recent anger is not easy to dissemble; a hatred that has taken long root may not be apparent; its effects, nevertheless, are none the less perceptible. The suit by the contestant against the testator was prior to 1770; the will was not drawn until 1775. Still the ressentment, though ancient, was not necessarily appeased; and if the will show ill-feeling, it may justly be attributed to that cause. The will itself manifests no hatred to the contestants. True, it leaves the property for him in trust; that may, however, have been but a wise precaution. But the hatred is unmistakably manifested in the codicil in which he devises the property to his son-in-law absolutely. A motive of hatred having been in that mode established, the will also should be annulled."

On these considerations the judgment of the Court below was reversed, but the will as well as the codicil pronounced invalid by decree of May 1st, 1782.

That lineal heirs were allowed to adduce evidence, even from extrinsic facts, in the absence of direct proof of hatred in the will itself, appears from the decree in the case of the will of Antoine Gamot, September 1st, 1676, above cited, in which the children of the first marriage were allowed to produce evidence that they had been ill-treated by their father in his

lifetime, and were banished from his house at the instance of his second wife. Evidence of these facts was rejected in the lower court; but the Parliament of Paris on appeal pronounced it relevant, and annulled the will.*

The same principle was established in the Camus case, and was indirectly admitted in the decree of the Parliament of Provence, December 5th, 1686, (cited above from the collections of Boniface,) in which the action was based entirely on *memoranda*, made by the testator and forming no part of the will.

Seventhly: The general effect of the action *ab irato* was to annul the will and every disposition therein contained, and to have the estate decreed to be distributed among the heirs as if their ancestors had died intestate. As a rule legacies to individuals shared the fate of the will, but this rule was not inflexible, and instances are on record in which special legacies have been pronounced valid and ordered to be paid, and the will decreed to stand good to that extent.

For instance the decree of August 19, 1737, above cited, in which the will of the widow Girardin in favor of her daughter was set aside, and the sons declared to be entitled to their shares in her estate, was subsequently modified by decree of September 1st, 1739, which affirmed the validity of a legacy to her granddaughter of ten thousond livres although contained in the same will.

In fact the courts appear to have acted very much on the principle of Courts of Equity, allowing themselves a wide discretion by which every case was adjudged according to the particular circumstances connected with it, and not by rule or precedent.

The principle on which they appear to have acted was that whenever the legacy was clearly one which the testator might have contemplated in any event, and would have made even had he not been influenced by the anger which dictated the will. Such legacy, if not excessive, should be allowed to stand.

**Causes célèbres* de Gayot de Pitaval, Vol. XIX, p. 137.

Eighthly: Until the Revolution effected the utter annihilation of all established law and order, the action *ab irato* appears to have continued a favorite remedy in France. It is certain, at least, that numerous decisions therein are recorded between 1780 and 1793.

With the Revolution, however, all recognized legal remedies fell to the ground. For while it was literally the Reign of Terror; in other words, the reign of the ignorant and lawless, in whose eyes property was crime, and the idea of legal safeguards or remedies of any kind other than an appeal to the strong arm, was an idea not to be tolerated.

With the return of law and order, under the Consulate and the Empire, a new state of things was inaugurated. The Code Napoléon established a uniform law for capital and province —*for pays du droit écrit* and *pays coutumiers.* The civil law and the old established customs were not to be revived; but a written and statutory law was to govern the whole nation, and a law adapted to the spirit of the age and the exigencies of the times, and before which effete privileges and time-honored customs held no place.

The Empire had its day, and with its fall the restoration of the Monarchy seemed to foreshadow the revival of ancient usages. But in the meantime a new generation had arisen—a generation to which the civil law was a myth, and the customs of the provinces a thing of the past. The Code Napoléon had endeared itself to the hearts of the French people; and the attempt to restore the old civil jurisprudence was attended with so many difficulties that the rulers wisely refrained from disturbing a system which had become the law of the land, and taken deeper hold than the ancient usages which had been so rudely uprooted.

The action *ab irato* is now a thing of the past. In reviewing its history we can afford to recognize its many advantages. In a period when the middle class, while possessed of great wealth, were as a rule imperfectly educated; when the passions were violent and easily aroused; when powerful religious bodies stood in readiness to avail themselves of moments of temporary irritation; when the body was weak and

the intellect easily obscured, to secure from the irritated and declining parent a disposition of his estate which in calmer moments and with time for reflection, he would never have chosen to make; and when superstition held such sway over the minds of the many that they would consider the revocation of a bequest to religious uses, made in a moment of hasty anger, fraught with peril to the salvation of their souls; under these circumstances we cannot but admit the great benefit of a law which enabled the injured heir to investigate the motives of a bequest which disinherited him, and to be relieved from a destitution to which, perhaps, in moments of calm reflection, his parents would never have condemned him. On the other hand, we can see the great abuses to which such an action was liable, the facilities which it offered to any heir who felt dissatisfied with his portion to drag before the public each detail of family history, and to encumber the records with disclosures of a painful character. Judging from what we have ourselves witnessed in cases where wills have been contested, and the testator's mental capacity attacked, we can scarcely desire the extension of the powers conferred on a dissatisfied heir. At the same time we may well be thankful that we live in a land and at a period when the general diffusion of education, the popular intelligence, and the freedom from the chains of superstition, render unnecessary the establishment of legal remedies fraught necessarily with such grave evils:—*Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.*

ART. VI.—1. *The Physiological Influence of Light.* By FORBES WINSLOW, M. D., D. C. L. London. 1860.

2. *A Short Discourse concerning Pestilential Contagion.* By RICHARD MEAD, M. D. London. 1720.

3. *Influence of the Moon in Fevers.* By FRANCIS BALFOUR, M. D. Calcutta. 1784.

"He appointeth the moon for seasons."
Psalmist.

POPULAR superstition, from time immemorial, has invested the moon and other heavenly bodies with an influence upon sublunary things more occult than science, until recently at least, was able to verify. It is strange how such curious ideas or notions should take possession of the human mind. They could not have been derived from any precise or definite knowledge of the planetary system, nor of the influence of solar light, for astronomy is a growth of comparatively modern times, and the true nature and constitution of light have only within a recent period been clearly apprehended: and without such knowledge everything respecting its influence must rest on vague conjecture—must be mere guesses at truth. But what a wonderful faculty, or power in man is this, that leads him to make such happy guesses of sublime realities!

One would surmise from this that we believed in lunar influence; that we had faith in the notion that the stars have a hand in shaping human destiny. Yes, we do believe everything of that kind, or of every other kind, so far as it rests upon substantial data. We confess that we would believe the moon was made of green cheese, or the earth in six days, or that the sun revolved around the earth, if the evidence were conclusive of the fact. No one can have a realizing sense of the vitalizing powers of light, and dispute the mundane influence of the planets; for, surely, they do send luminous beams to us every moment of time; little messages of light and love to illumine the darkness and influence the destiny of living beings.

The opinions of the ancients on this subject are exceedingly interesting. From the earliest times the moon has been invested with peculiar powers, sometimes potential for evil, at others potential for good. The Greeks regarded the full moon as the most propitious time for marriage and reproduction. "Hesiod asserted that the fourth day of the moon was propitious, but the eighteenth was bad, especially to females." And even Socrates, that grand incomparable man of antiquity, had an idea, perhaps indefinite, that the planets influenced the affairs of earth. He did not think it profitable to study astronomy, however, except so far as to be able to tell the time of day, the month and the seasons, and "when it is best to go to sea, or make a voyage." Further study of that subject was useless.*

The Greeks worshiped the sun and the moon, and regarded it a heresy to doubt the deityship of both. Their great philosophers discarded the idea, of course, and some of them were severely punished for the heresy—as, for instance, Socrates—by being condemned to drink hemlock, and Anaxagoras, to perpetual banishment. Dr. Laycock says, that "among the ancient nations the general idea was, that the lunar influence varied according to the age of the moon." Its influence augmented at the increase of the moon, and decreased upon its decline. "Among the Jews," says the same writer, "the full moon was believed to be lucky, and the other phases disastrous." And a Jewish writer† observes that "the full moon is propitious to new-born children; but if the child be born in the increase or wane, the horns of that planet causes death; or, if it survive, it is generally guilty of some enormous crime."

The Jews, also, worshiped the moon, in a measure. The new moon was kept among that peculiar people as a day of rejoicing and festivity. Like the Sabbath, it was likewise an occasion for worship and the offering of sacrifice. "And in the day of the new moon," reads one of their ordinances, the sacrifice "shall be a young bullock without blemish, and six

* *Vide The National Quarterly Review*, Art. *Anaxagoras*, vol. XXVII, p. 206.

† Rabbi Abravanel.

lambs and a ram: they shall be without blemish." * And the Psalmist says: "Blow up the trumpet in the new moon, in the time appointed for our solemn feast-day; for this was a statute for Israel, and a law of the God of Jacob." †

The ancient Spartans, too, attributed great influence to the moon in human affairs. So great was their faith in the benignity of the new moon that they avoided all important undertakings in its decline, or wane. The full moon was especially reserved as the only admissible time for marching against their enemies. The uniform success which attended upon their arms is historical; but we shall attribute it to their well-known valor, rather than to the specific influence of the full moon.

Numerous tribes of the human family hold the moon in the same high regard. According to Dobell's *Travels in Kamtchatka and Siberia*, "the Burettas never undertake anything of importance between the new and full moon." And Prichard, in his *Analysis of Egyptian Mythology*, mentions the prevalence of the belief among the Egyptians "that things prospered more at the full moon than when the moon was waning, and he supposes that Bonbastis, or the Egyptian Diana, signified the beneficient influence exercised by the moon over pregnant women." Many travellers in the tropics have remarked the singular beauty of the full moon, which accounts for its influence upon the mind of the southern savage, and for its being an occasion for general rejoicing.‡

Aristotle was of the opinion that earthquakes were influenced by the moon's phases; and Pliny believed that the moon promoted putrefaction in dead bodies, and "produced drowziness and stupor in those who sleep under her beams." Von Helmont, the alchemist of the seventeenth century, maintained a similar doctrine. That strange genius "affirmed that a wound inflicted during the period of moonlight is most difficult to heal, and boldly asserted that if a frog be washed

* Ezekiel, xlvi, 6. † lxxxi, 3, 4.

‡ *Vide* Buckle's collections on this subject, *Posthumous Works*. Arts. 573 and 1697.

clean and tied to a stake under the rays of the moon in a cold winter's night, on the following morning the body will be found dissolved in a gelatinous substance, bearing the shape of the reptile; and that coldness alone, without the lunar action, will never produce the same effect."* That sounds like the story, which probably had a similar origin or emanated from the same source, that if an infant be allowed to sleep with the moon's full light falling upon its face, it will never awaken, or if it do, it will be idiotic—"moonstruck" or become "luny." And a clever article in *The Review* for September, 1873, referring to the superstitious beliefs of mankind, says: "People enough there are who would never dare to fall asleep with the moon shining in their faces, lest they might wake up blind in the morning; and many a farmer still believes that vegetables planted in one phase of the moon run to tops or leaves, while planted in the other, they are pretty sure to bear fruit quite extravagantly. Both myths are relics of the ancients, as is that of good luck or bad, depending upon the shoulder over which the new moon is first seen—to which is traceable the vulgar idiom, 'over the left.' Very ancient, too, is the idea that moonshine must not be permitted to fall on the face of a sleeping infant, its beams inducing idiocy." No less a philosopher than Galen, the eminent Pagan, and one of the medical lights of the second century, asserted "that all animals that are born when the moon is falciform, or at the half-quarter, are weak, feeble, and short-lived; whereas those that come into the world during the full moon are healthy, vigorous and long-lived."

Winslow cites Lucilius, the Roman satirist, who says "that oysters and echivi fatten during lunar augmentation, which also, according to Gellius, enlarges the eyes of cats; and that onions throw out their buds in the decrease of the moon, and wither in her increase, which induced the people of Pelusi to avoid their use. "Horace, also, notices the superiority of shellfish during the moon's increase.† Lord Bacon maintained

* Cited by Winslow. *Physiological Influence of Light.*

† *Ibid.* p. 62.

the faith of the ancients relative to the influence of the moon upon mundane events. And it is said "that this great philosopher always had a severe attack of syncope at the time of a lunar eclipse."*

Mr. Robert Hunt of England, who has given much attention to the influence of the different elements of the solar ray upon vegetation, believes the popular notion that mushrooms and other varieties of the fungi grow best in moonlight, to be well-founded. He states that he "could not, with the utmost attention, make the *agaricus muscarius* grow behind any other absorbent media than the yellow, under which it grew luxuriantly." All healthy vegetation, on the other hand, requires the deeper elements of the ray for germination and development—that part of light in which resides the actinic principle. Moonlight is especially deficient in that principle, as well as, in the thermic, or heat principle; "and the amount of chemical action which has been detected (from it) is exceedingly small" —just sufficient to waken into life the feeble species of the fungi. "We must, therefore, regard the moonbeams," continues Mr. Hunt, "as consisting largely of the luminous rays, the other active rays being in all probability absorbed by the moon's surface."†

If full credence be placed in the correctness of modern investigation the influence of the moon in terrestrial affairs is extremely small. It is a difficult matter, however, to determine the amount and character of that influence with any considerable approach to scientific accuracy, because the effects produced may be such as our instruments of observation are not calculated to detect. So far as the scientific observations of the weather is concerned, however, the means of physicists may or may not be ample. At all events "Prof. Wierzbicki, assistant at the observatory at Cracow, has made use of 45 years of continuous observations on the climate of that station to investigate the influence of the moon. The first person who made any practical investigation of this subject

* *Physiological Influence of Light*, p. 62.

† *Researches on Light*, p. 240.

appears to have been Laplace, who studied the influence of the moon upon the height of the barometer. In the same direction, also, Bouvard labored, basing his investigation on twelve years of observations at Paris, and he proved that the influence of the moon upon our atmosphere was so inconsiderable, at least for the latitude of Paris, that it might be considered as not existing at all. Wierzbicki divides his investigation into two sections; studying first the influence of the synodic revolution of the moon, or the time that the moon occupies in passing through all its phases, and further subdividing the period of forty-five years into two periods of nineteen years each, and showing that for both of these periods, as well as for the entire period of forty-five years, the clear weather, (*i. e.* the number of clear days,) shows scarcely any trace of a connection with the phase of the moon. During the lunar month, in fact, the number of clear days increases and diminishes five times, and without any apparent regularity.

"With regard to the rainfall, it appears that in the first period of nineteen years the maximum rainfall occurs between the first quarter and the full moon, and the least rainfall between the full moon and the last quarter. On the other hand, the last period of nineteen years leads to a different result; so that, from the whole series of observations, there results only a very slight indication of a connection with the moon—which connection, if it actually exists, would require for its demonstration a series of measurements of the rainfall numbering through a much longer period of years. The result attained by the study of the number of days on which rain fell substantially agrees with that from the study of the quantity of rain fallen, in showing that the moon has very little, if any, influence upon processes in our atmosphere. The same author, in studying the anomalistic revolution of the moon, gives, by a very careful process of reasoning, two conclusions different from those advocated by Schiaparelli, in finding no trace of the influence of the distance of the moon from the earth upon meteorological phenomena." *

*N. Y. *Tribune*, January 22d, 1874.

We are all familiar with the signs of the Zodiac, which are nothing but a relic of the superstitious notions of the ancients relative to planetary influence. According to the alchemists every organ of the body had its star under whose particular influence and control it was. Thus the heart was under the special protection of the sun, being the supposed centre of the physiological system; the brain was under the special guardianship of the moon. Hence the word *lunatic* or *lunacy*, as applied to those whose minds, or reasons were affected. It is very common even to this day to speak of weak-minded people as "moonstruck," and of certain erratic individuals as being "luny." The German word for moon, *Mond*, is masculine, because it impresses the imagination as cold, phlegmatic, unsympathetic; while sun, *sohn*, in the same language, is feminine for the reason of its more genial, vivifying and cheerful influence. *

In the old astrological system Jupiter was supposed to influence the lungs; Saturn the spleen; Venus the kidneys; Mars took special charge of the liver, and choleric people in general; while Mercury's influence was upon the sexual organs and the reproductive functions. Medicines, also, had each its particular star, under whose influence it was gathered and prepared, and which presided over its specific operation upon the human economy. The seasons had their medicines, also. Thus cathartics were supposed to be particularly adapted to spring time; and the practice which followed as a sequence of that belief is not altogether obsolete among people of intelligence to-day!

The belief was quite prevalent, at one time, that the moon influenced the monthly crises and all other periodical changes in health or disease. The crisis in particular diseases were ascribed by Hippocrates, and the opinion was afterward reaffirmed by Galen, to the influence of the lunar periods.

* It is curious to observe in this connection that according to the astrological notions of the Greenlanders, the moon and sun were once human beings; the former being a man and the latter a woman. They were also lovers; the moon continually chasing the sun, while the latter was continually endeavoring to elude his approach. Vide *Egede's Greenland*, *p*, 206.

Indeed, so sure was Hippocrates of the influence of the stars on the vital functions, and the rise and course of disease, that he thought no physician properly qualified to practise his calling who was not versed in astronomical science. He expressly "advises his son, Thassalus, to study the science of numbers and geometry," and affirms that the "rising and setting of the stars have great effect upon the distempers."

Many prominent medical writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were deeply impressed with the importance of the moon's influence upon human events. If that luminary's influence were so potent upon meteorological phenomena, storms, tides, winds, temperature, etc., it were surely not irrational to assume that she held dominion of a certain sort and degree over the conditions of vegetable and animal life. With the object of disproving the fallacy, or of confirming the truth of the assumption, careful observations were made by them, and the whole subject reduced to the scientific basis of geometrical calculation. Dr. Mead, a learned contemporary of Newton, left to the world a valuable treatise on the subject, embodying the results of his lunar studies. Later, Dr. Balfour, an English army surgeon, did the same. According to the latter, the influence of the moon was more noticeable in the tropics than in temperate and northern latitudes. In India, he maintained that the moon influenced, in a marked manner, the course and type of fevers. His means of observations were certainly quite ample, and the facts collected by him appear to justify his conclusions; Wierzbecki, to the contrary notwithstanding. As stated by the late Dr. Winslow, they were, briefly, that along with the full and change of the moon there is certainly occurring some uncommon or adventitious state or quality in the air, which increases fever and disposes to an unfavorable termination or crisis; and that along with the intervals there is constantly occurring a state or quality in the air opposite to the former which does not excite but diminish fever and dispose to a favorable crisis." *

Dr. Scott, another credible observer of lunar influence upon the fevers of Western India, says that "The

* *Vide* Balfour's *Treatise on the Influence of the Moon in Fevers.*

influence of the moon upon the human body in this part of India is observed by every medical practitioner. It is universally acknowledged by the doctors of all colors, castes and countries. The people are taught to believe in the fact in their infancy, and as they grow up they acknowledge it from experience. I suppose," he continues, "that in the northern latitudes, this power of the moon is far less sensible than in India. We here universally think that the state of the weakly and diseased bodies are much influenced by the moon. Many people know the very day on which their intermittents will make their appearance; and every full and change increases the number of patients of every practitioner."

Dr. James Johnson, another writer on "Diseases of Tropical Climates," says that the fact of the moon's influence upon paroxysms of fever in India, "is incontestably proved by daily observation."* But this will do. We leave the reader to judge for himself whether these writers were *luny* or not.

It is interesting to observe that the opinions of mankind relative to the influence of the moon upon health and disease were kindly received and very generally entertained by physicians and philosophers down to the last quarter of the eighteenth century; and while among the latter class confidence in them has waned of late, among the unlettered, ignorant class, the belief is far from being obsolete; their customs still showing the unmistakable effect of its living, active presence. From time immemorial the moon has been believed by dark-minded people to influence in a peculiar manner marriage and child-bearing,—a belief still entertained by most barbaric races. Not only do they believe that the moon influences conception, gestation and lactation, but often, that it is capable of exciting conception independent of other causes and influences. The barbaric Greenlanders, for example, entertain this notion according to Agede,† and absurdly supposed that the moon "now and then comes down to give their wives a visit and to caress them." They accordingly regard it extremely unsafe for

* Balfour's *Treatise on the Influence of the Moon in Fevers.*

† *Description of Greenland*, p. 209. London. 1818.

their virgin daughters to look at the moon much when it is full, "imagining they may get a child by the bargain." † It would be exceedingly interesting to follow up, in some detail, the "luny" beliefs entertained by the credulous tribes on our borders, but the limited space at our disposal admonishes us to confine ourselves to details of more practical importance.

It is well-known, too, that some of the minor details of gestation, childbirth, and weaning, are regarded by many intelligent physicians, midwives and nurses, at the present day, as being more or less influenced by sidereal causes. This belief, we have seen, rests upon more substantial authority than tradition or superstition. A great many nurses keep almanacs as an essential part of their professional appurtenances; to remind them of the lunar phases; the time when their patient will be likely to need their services; the most propitious time for weaning, etc. In general they are certain if the patient pass one quarter of the moon after her time is up, she will go on to the next lunar change. And in this calculation, strange to say, they are not always mistaken.

Then, in respect of the period of weaning, it is a very common practice among many reputable physicians to be guided by the phases of the moon; the period of its increase being regarded most propitious. Reputable practitioners, we say, hold to this opinion. We have heard them assert that they never hesitate to advise the weaning of young children in midsummer, if they can control the circumstances; can proceed in accordance with the indications of the zodiac! They, of course, disclaim all knowledge of the *how* and *wherefore*. In practice, they are confident of the soundness of their method; that being substantiated, they think, by positive results. However that may be, there are many reputable midwives in Christendom, we repeat, who share the opinion.

Whatever influence the moon may exercise upon the vital processes of infants, and we are persuaded that it must be considerable, it is by no means certain that that influence can be estimated, weighed and measured, and practically utilized and

† *Description of Greenland.* London. 1818.

made available in their medical care. They are influences which are a part of that great ocean of occult causes and sequences in which we "live, move, and have our being," but which are of too subtle a character for finite analysis and comprehension. The progress of scientific knowledge may possibly throw new light on this subject. Let us meantime keep our minds free from unhealthy bias in that direction and loyally accept the logic of facts wherever it may lead.

The influence of the moon upon mental states, normal and otherwise, requires a passing notice. There seems to be substantial data for the opinion that the moon does influence our mental states. The grounds of that belief have been alternately disputed and reaffirmed during the progress of rational science. But with the progress of definite knowledge of the laws of light and of the constitution of the planetary bodies, the hypothesis gains advocates from minds the most skeptical.

We have already referred to the curious fact that the word "lunacy" or "lunatic," was founded upon the belief that the moon produced that state of mental aberration which is known as *lunacy*. Thus the great English jurist, Blackstone, who wrote about a century ago, and whose opinion may be regarded as embodying the medical as well as the legal sense of his time, distinctly declares that " a lunatic is one that hath had understanding, but by disease, grief or other accident, hath lost the use of his reason; he is, indeed, properly one that hath lucid intervals, sometimes enjoying his sense and sometimes not, and that frequently depending upon the change of the moon." *

The general tendency of scientific thought in the first half of the nineteenth century was to throw discredit upon Blackstone's opinion and upon that also of contemporary medical writers; in other words to regard the lunar influence on the insane as mere "moonshine;" in short, as a relic of medical superstition. But no fact in the whole range of scientific observation is better authenticated than that the insane suffer aggravation of their symptoms during the increase of the moon, and an amelioration of them during the moon's wane or decline. At the full moon

* *Cooley's Blackstone*, vol. I.

such patients are excitable, vociferous, clamorous; they sleep less than usual; are more easily aroused; the paroxysms of mania are more violent and prolonged; they need more careful watching, and increased and more frequent doses of quieting medicines. The exacerbation of the disease is also more frequent, as well as more violent, at this lunar period. The great Pinel concurred in the opinion that mania was strongly influenced by the moon's phases, as well as, by the procession of the seasons, heat and cold, etc. And Daquin, a French physician and author of almost equal eminence, and one whose opportunities for accurate observation were incomparable, declares that "insanity is a disease of the mind upon which the moon exercises an unquestionable influence. The new moon's and the last quarters of the moon," he continues, "are the lunar phases which influence the insane more frequently and painfully."*

And Guislain, an eminent Swedish writer and distinguished physician, records the case of an insane woman who, for sixty years, had had periodical attacks of acute mania; "the return of the disease corresponding with the return of the full moon." Bertholon also records the case of a lunatic "whose periodical accessions of acute mania occurred invariably at the full of the moon." And the late Forbes Winslow, a modern English authority in mental maladies, gives the opinion of an intelligent matron in his establishment for insane women, to the effect "that she invariably observed a great agitation among the patients when the moon was at its full." And he himself observes: "That the insane do appear to a degree unusually agitated at the full of the moon, particularly if its bright light be permitted uninterruptedly to enter the room where they sleep, there cannot be a doubt."† This phenomenon, he thinks, may be rationally accounted far apart "from the hypothesis of their being anything specific in the composition of the lunar ray."‡ In this opinion many rationally minded observers, it is believed, will hardly concur.

* Cited by Winslow. *Physiological Influence of Light*, p. 148.
† *Ibid*, p. 151. ‡ *Ibid.*

Now, if any of our readers have an idea, from what we have said, or from any bias of their own, that the moon has any direct influence upon the mind, or other processes of nature, other than such as are legitimately due to the *light* which that planet reflects upon us, we would have them discard it as a superstitious relic, unworthy a sound mind. No moon or other orb in the magnificent expanse above or the starry depths around us, emits the earth any light but the most celestial, or influences us in any way but the most hallowed. All the facts of creditable observation, relative to planetary influence, are believed to be susceptible of a rational solution, and that, too, in accordance with what is already known of the organic and physical influences of solar light.

In respect to some of the most prevalent diseases of the mind, it is well-known that they frequently arise from too great mental activity, and hence require for their amelioration and cure, rest and quiet, and the soothing influences of darkness and sleep. In all such cases, therefore, not only the light of the moon, but light from artificial sources also, inevitably aggravates the morbid state and increases the violence of the mental symptoms. It is very common for those who use their minds much to be troubled with sleeplessness. They require dark rooms, and exemption from noise to secure perfect repose and refreshing sleep. We knew a gentleman of this class who experienced great difficulty to sleep in a room with a sunny exposure, although the window was closely veiled with a green colored shade. The morning's sun would wake him early, although he had been in bed sometimes but two or three hours. In a room on the opposite side of the house, away from the early sun, he had decidedly less trouble to sleep. He fancied that he slept better on lowery, or moonless nights. Was it a fancy, think you? Nothing is more rational than that he should have done so, surely. His more torpid and phlegmatic neighbor had no such experience, and probably regarded such notions as mere "moonshine," to be crushed out by the exercise of common sense, and a strong, resolute will. And, surely, it does indicate a nervous hyperæsthesia, an over sensitiveness of the brain and nerves which is a great

remove from the normal, happy, healthy condition of the nervous system. But the condition is by no means exceptional. We cite the case as a typical one, of which there are many of analogous character to be found in every civilized community. But if an individual in ordinary and unexceptionable health may possess a nervous system so extremely sensitive to the actinic forces that pour in upon us from the stars, even in the repose of noiseless midnight, it is surely not surprising that persons suffering from acute mania, or other forms of serious diseases of the brain and nervous system, should, sometimes, exhibit an unusual and extraordinary degree of susceptibility to the presence of those forces. The greatest surprise of all is that any observing, truth-loving man, should be found sufficiently skeptical to deny the facts; or admitting them, to indulge disingenuous argument to circumvent their logical import and meaning. Such, however, is the perverse influence of prejudice relative to the normal functions. Prejudice is itself a perversity, a mental blight, which obscures the mental perceptions and dwarfs the moral judgments.

But irritable states of the brain and nervous system are not the only ones which are aggravated by light, whether of the moon or the sun. All light is painfully aggravating to *inflammation* of the brain and its membranes; and patients suffering from diseases of that character have to be carefully excluded from the light of day, as also from artificial light as well. The same is true of inflammatory diseases in general. One of the most direct and prominent effects of solar light, we have already seen, is to increase the pulse and to excite the nervous system.

Many of the fevers, particularly of childhood, therefore, require a minimum of light, especially during the period of their exacerbation, and before their crises are reached. Scarlet fever, measles and variola may be cited as examples. In all of these distressing maladies the eyes are pained by the light, in the former cases from brain complications; in the latter from an affection of the eyes themselves, and not unfrequently from brain disorders too. When the crisis is past and the convalescent stage is assured, the indications in respect to light

are reversed. They must have light—all they can safely bear. Light becomes then a powerful stimulant and an effective agent in convalescence, let the disease be what it may. Even in surgical cases, light is a valuable auxiliary to recovery. Dr. Hammond of New York says that wounds heal more rapidly when freely exposed to the stimuli of light and air. And it is true.

In the case of diseases of the eyes the degree of light admitted to them is an important desideratum. No one can fully comprehend the immense force embodied in the solar beam who has never had an attack of ophthalmia himself, or witnessed the course of one in another. In such cases the solar beam seems like a shower of daggers piercing the very brain! Patients suffering from the severer forms of opthalmia will often scream with pain when the door of their dark apartment is opened, leading to a room in which a small degree of daylight is allowed to enter, although their eyes meanwhile were closely bandaged! Even a moderate degree of light is often an embarrassment, and obviously retards recovery. Such is the intimate sympathy between the retina of the eye and the mystic principles of solar light!

Moreover, excess of light sometimes causes blindness. Every one is acquainted with what is called "snow blindness." Sheep are said not unfrequently to be afflicted with it in winter. And the Esquimaux, in the Arctic regions, are affected with many diseases of the eyes, such as hemeralopia, amblyopia, amaurosis, etc., in consequence, it is presumed, of the excess of the white or luminous ray, in those northern latitudes.

It is important to know that new-born infants need to be carefully guarded for a few days against excess of light. They need a great deal of sleep, and require, therefore, the conditions favorable thereto, the chief of which is shade. Their young eyes are very sensitive to the sun's beams, and may easily be destroyed or permanently injured by them. Moreover, excess of light renders the infant nervous and restless; produces wakefulness when sleep is its greatest need—after its dinner, of course. The mother also, for a day or two after confinement, thrives best, in a minimum of light. Her nervous

system may, perhaps, have been severely taxed in the critical ordeal through which she has passed, and needs every possible adjuvant of recuperation. An important auxiliary to this desideratum is a temporary seclusion from that most powerful agent of life and activity, the solar beam.

And here we would add a caution lest any be misled. In both these latter instances our injunction should not be carried to extreme. There can be no rule laid down to guide the inexperienced in the matter, because so much depends upon the condition and mental peculiarities of the sick. Let no one, however, be afraid of exposing their babes to moonlight! It will not produce idiocy, nor put out their eyes; nor transform them into jelly. If one avoids falling into an unthinking routine in all these matters, one cannot greatly err.

Finally, different principles of the solar ray affect man and animals, as well as vegetation, differently. "No one," says Florence Nightingale, "who has watched the sick can doubt the fact, that some feel stimulus from looking at scarlet flowers; others exhaustion from looking at deep blue." * And Forbes Winslow says: "There can be no doubt that *bright red* and *yellow* rays stimulate, and in some cases irritate the brain and mind. *Deep blue* is said to depress or exhaust the vital force. Some animals are excited when brought in contact with *scarlet* color. This is observed in Spanish bull-fights. *Green*, *violet*, and in fact all the neutral tints, soothe the nervous system and allay mental irritation. Those who have the care of the insane, or medical treatment of patients suffering from great brain irritability, should bear these facts in remembrance."† Permit me also to add that they should be borne in mind by all, whether physician, patient, or nurse; and under all circumstances, whether in sickness the most grave, or health the most perfect.

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* *Notes on Nursing*, p. 62.

† *Physiological Influence of Light*, p. 153.

ART. VII.—1. THE ANCIENT SCYTHIANS AND THEIR DESCENDANTS. *A dissertation on the origin and progress of the Scythians or Goths, being an introduction to the ancient and modern history of Europe.* By JOHN PINKERTON. London. 1787.

2. *Historia Gothorum, Vandalorum et Longobardum.* Ab HUGENE GROTES. Amsterdam. 1655.

3. *Geschichte des Ostrogothischen Reichs in Italien.* (History of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy.) Bei JOHNN KASPAR FRIEDRICH MANSO. Breslau. 1824.

ETHNOLOGISTS have agreed to classify the Aryan inhabitants of Europe into four great families,—the Teutonic, the Celtic, the Sclavonic and the Latin. Of these the Teutonic, though not the first in point of time to enter the European continent, is generally regarded as the greatest, being the parent of most of the modern European nations, and perhaps the main stem of which the other families are but branches. It is certain that the earliest accounts of the Scythians, from whom the various Teutonic nations are derived, place them on the banks of the Oxus, which is generally recognized as the cradle of the Aryan race; and some ancient writers have claimed them to be the original people which existed before the confusion of tongues.* While it is difficult to find any substantial basis of truth for this assumption, there can be little doubt that for a considerable period after the general dispersion, when the Gæls and Celts had long scattered themselves throughout southern and western Europe, and the Kymri penetrated the passes of the Caucassus, a vast multitude, constituting the bulk of the Aryan family, continued to occupy the region between the Caspian and the Oxus, and were for a long period the controlling power in that portion of Asia.

These were the Scythians whom ancient writers mention as rivalling the Egyptians in antiquity and controlling Asia for

* Eusebeus Chro., p. 13.

fifteen hundred years before the time of Ninus, king of Assyria.* The duration of this period is probably exaggerated; but that this was their abode for a long time there can be no doubt. They made war with Xerxes, king of Egypt; † and from time to time sent successive expeditions into the regions of India, overcoming the Cushite inhabitants and forming with them the mixed race of the Hindoos. From this, their original habitation, they were eventually expelled by Ninus, king of Assyria, about 2000 B. C. A large number, however, still remained and became tributary to their conqueror, forming the germ of the nations subsequently known as the Medes and Persians; but the vast majority retreated before their conqueror, and crossing the Araxes, entered Europe by way of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. ‡

Their first grand settlement was on the east, north and west of the Euxine, in the tract described as Scythia by the ancient geographers. This region, it is probable, had been previously occupied by the Kymri, a portion of the earlier migrators, commonly called Celtic. It is certain that a considerable number of these Kymri continued until a much later period—about 640 B. C.—to occupy the territory known as the Tauric Chersonece, where they were known to the Greek as the Kimmerians. It is to be presumed, however, that Kimmerian tribes had also occupied the regions along the Euxine and the Caspian, which were subsequently possessed by the Scythians. Such were Albania, whose etymology is clearly Gaelic; Iberia, which suggests the name of the early inhabitants of Spain, Pontus and Armenia, all which regions are described by ancient geographers as peopled by Scythians.‖ The principal tribes mentioned by ancient writers are the Alani, between the Don and the Volga; the Albani, whom Solinus describes as having white hair and blue eyes, and the faculty of seeing in the darkness; § the Bactriani and the

* Justin, lib. i, ch. 1.

† *Ibid*, lib. ii, ch. 3.

‡ Herod, lib, iv, ch. 2; Dio. Sec., lib. ii, p. 155.

‖ Dionysius, ch. v, p. 748.

§ Sol., ch. xx.

Sydeani, to the east of the Caspian, the Sacæ on the Volga, and the Monogetæ on the north of the Caspian. Sacæ and Monogetæ were names given by the Orientals to all the Asiatic Scythians; * and were terms corresponding to Scythæ and Getæ among the Greeks. † The term Scythian is generally supposed to be derived from *scuit*—a wanderer—a word of which the modern *Scot* is a derivative. The Getæ, who, unlike the rest of the Scythians, were not nomadic, were the race known to the Romans as Goths. Among the Asiatic Scythians were also the Chatæ (Catte), Sassones (Soxons), Sigevi (Suevi), Tectosaces (Tectosages), and Jotæ (Jutes), all which names, with slight variations, are found among the German tribes in subsequent history.

As the Scythian tribes increased in number and force, they extended their dominion to the shores of the Danube, and ultimately into Mysia and Thrace. This region was occupied by the Scythian tribe called Getæ or Goths, whom Herodotus mentions as a comparatively civilized nation holding the doctrine of the soul's immortality, and the bravest and most just of the barbarous Thracians. ‡ Even after their conquest by Darius, king of Persia, and their eventual absorption into the Roman empire, the language of the Goths continued to be spoken in this territory. Ovid, in his poems written in exile in Myria, speaks of the Getic or Gothic as the language of the country. ‖ From Thrace the Scythians passed by the Bosphorus into Asia Minor, where they founded the Aryan nations inhabiting that region in Homeric times; the Bithynians, Phrygians, Dardanians and many others. § It is probable that they drove out the Semitic inhabitants of Lydia and founded the Lydian empire of history. Herodotus states that Lydus and Myrus were brothers of Carius; ¶ meaning

* Strabto, lib. ii.

† *Mémoires de l'Académie*, tome xxv.

‡ Book iv,

‖ De Ponto, lib. iv, ep. xiii; lib. iii, ep. ii.

§ Dionysius, v, 758 to 798.

¶ Lib. iv.

that the Lydians, Myrians and Carians were kindred nations. In these passages of the Scythians we can distinctly trace the origin of the titles given to the Thracian and Cimmerian Bosphorus. Unlike the Gauls, who were predatory warriors, the Scythians were a race essentially pastoral. In travelling from Asia to Europe and back again, they were accompanied by great multitudes of cattle, and were obliged to select passages by which their herds might travel. Hence the appellation cattle-ford—translated by the Greeks into Bosphorus—by which they designated the straits over which they travelled with their herds. There is reason to suppose that the Helli or Hellenes, who subsequently traversed the Hellespont and became masters of the whole of Greece, were likewise a tribe of Scythians. The primitive inhabitants of the Grecian peninsula were Ionians, supposed to be the descendants of Javan or Jore, and a race akin to the Celts. These, however, had long since been overpowered and blended with the Pelasgi, probably a Hamitic race, who at an early period overspread the south of Europe. It is impossible to read the accounts of Homer and the early poets without feeling convinced that the Hellenes and the Achaians who came into Greece from Asia and overpowered the Pelasgi, were a cognate race with the Asiatic people with whom they warred; speaking a similar language and not unlike in manners and institutions, and even in proper names. The title of *αναξ ανδρων* is applied by Homer to some of his Dardanian heroes as well as to the Agamemnon, and we are distinctly told that the Atridæ, the ruling house of the Achaians, were of Phrygian descent. Still more remarkable is the fact that the mythological prophets and bards of Greece—Linus, Orpheus, Mucæus, Thamyris, Eumolpus—are all described as Thracians; and the Orphic mythology—the oldest of all those received in Greece—as well as the worship of Bacchus, display points of resemblance to the religion of the Hindoos which cannot be accidental, but indicate distinctly a derivation from one parent stock. These nations, it is true, being brought into contact with the learned and luxurious Asiatic races soon abandoned their nomadic and pastoral habits, and deve-

loped into a high civilization. It is not surprising that under these circumstances their Scythian parentage should have been forgotton; and the barbarism into which the nomadic Scythians of the North eventually subsided, not unnaturally caused them to be held in horror even by their own kindred and descendants.

Nations that subsist by hunting and pasturage require a vast extent of territory to afford them means of subsistence; and, accordingly, we find that the nomadic Scythian tribes extended their wandering over the entire region from the Caspian to the Baltic. The Kymri who occupied the region called the Tauric Chersonece, were driven out by them in the seventh century, and compelled to retreat to the west of Europe. The Scythians pressed closely upon them, and had established themselves in the Scandinavian regions as early as the time of Æschylus, who speaks of the Scythian rabble who inhabit the extremities of the earth.* From Herodotus we learn that they had also penetrated Germany and driven the Gauls across the Rhine as early as 500 B. C. From the descriptions in Herodotus and Tacitus, it is impossible to doubt the identity of the Germans described by the latter with the ancient Scythians. Both lived by hunting, pasturage and rapine. Both gave little attention to agriculture. The tilled ground or the pasturage belonged to the commonwealth and they quitted it at the year's end to remove to other lands. Both parched their corn over the fire instead of making it into bread. Both drank out of horns or even from the skulls of enemies. Ale and mead were the drink of the Thracio-Scythians as of the Scandinavians. Both nations burned their illustrious dead and buried their ashes under mounds or *tumuli*. Both went almost naked, using only the skin of some wild animal to cover them in winter.

Between the Getæ or Goths on the East and the Germans on the West lay a vast extent of territory occupied by another Scythian race called the Basternæ, whose dominion, we are told, extended from the Euxine to the Baltic.† These people,

* Prometheus.

† Strabo.

occupying the territory possessed by the Sumatrans at a later period, have been confounded with them by some writers, and with the Gauls by others, while Strabo considers them a distinct race, speaking of the Scythæ, Sarmatæ and Basternæ.* There can however be little doubt that they were in reality a Scythian race. Strabo, in another part of his work, speaks of them as German, † which fact Pliny ‡ and Tacitus establish beyond a doubt. Appian calls them Getæ, and Dion Cassius expressly states that they were Scythians. § The fact is that all these races were descendants of the parent Scythian stock; but the Getæ, although barbarous, in comparison with the polished Helenes, had, as we have seen, never entirely lost their primitive civilization; while the Germans on the Rhine had been partially civilized by association with the Celts, who had acquired many civil arts from the Greeks of Marseilles. The Basternæ, on the contrary, were in a condition of barbarism similar to that of the nomadic Scythians. They appear to have consisted of three great divisions—the Atmoni, Peukini and Sitones. ‖ Retaining the migratory habits of their Scythian ancestors, two of these tribes—the Peukini and Sitones gradually extended their occupations to the shores of the Baltic. In the time of Strabo they had penetrated to the region north of Germany.¶ The evidence of Pliny and Tacitus is even more positive. Pliny * speaks of an island called Baltic in the Cronium Mare or Northern Ocean, whence amber was brought. This may have been Glessaria, a Prussian promontory, the word *gles* or *glos* signifying amber in German. He further mentions the isles of Scandia, Dumna, Bergi and Nerigen—the latter is evidently Norigea, the indi-

* Lib. iii, p. 165.

† Lib. vii. ‡ Lib. iv, p. 13.

§ Lib. xxxviii & l,

Strabo adds the Roxolani, but these were evidently a Sarmatian tribe of later date.

¶ "Many think that the Basternæ lived beyond the Germans to the northward; others that there is only Ocean." Strabo.

* *Natural History*, lib. iv, ch. xiii.

genous title of Norway, and the other names have evident affinity to modern Norwegian localities.

By following the list of German nations given by Tacitus and remembering that in naming them he is evidently proceeding in regular order from south to north, we can form a tolerably just idea of the position of the various Teutonic races of Scythian extraction. At the outlets of the Rhine he places the Batavi or Batavians; then the Colti between the Rhine and the head of the Danube. Then follow the Frisii from the northern bank of the Rhine to the Ocean, where the Frisians are now found. The Sueri occupied a region of vast extent from the Danube and the Ocean, and from the Elbe to the Vistula. In the Prussian district were also found the Semnones and the Longobardi, or Lombards. Then follow seven nations about whose position commentators have been considerably confused, although they include the Angli or Angles, the Eudoces—probably the Teutons or Jutes—and the Suardones, whose name is suggestive of the Swedes. The difficulty which geographers have experienced in determining the locality of these nations has grown chiefly out of the assumption that the entire peninsula of Jutland was at the time occupied by the Cimbri, a Celtic or Kymric race. In this assumption the fact has been overlooked that although the Cimbri had once been a vast and powerful nation, occupying the whole of the northern peninsula, as appeared from the extensive remains which he mentions, * yet at the time when Tacitus wrote, their number had been already so much diminished that he expressly styles it "*parva nunc civitas;*" the great mass of the people having already been expelled by the Teutonic invaders and driven into Gaul, where they occupied Belgium and Armorica.

There can, therefore, be little doubt that some or all of these nations, in the time of Tacitus, occupied the peninsula of Jutland, now Denmark, to which one of them—the Eudoces or Yeutons—gave its subsequent name. This is

* See article on the Gæls, Celts and Kymri in the *National Quarterly Review* for June, 1876.

confirmed by the description which Tacitus gives of their territory as divided by rivers and woods—a description particularly applicable to the well-watered and well-wooded peninsula of Jutland.

At the mouth of the Vistula we find the Gothones—probably a tribe of Goths. Tacitus, Pliny and Ptolemy unite in locating these people on the shores of the Baltic and dividing them into the Æstrogoths and Westrogoths—probably Ostrogoths. This region on the Baltic is still called Æstrogothia. On an adjacent island were the Sinones—probably a latinization of Zee—woners or dwellers in the sea, by which the inhabitants of Zeeland are designated in ancient Sagos. * In this neighborhood Tacitus has also placed the Bastemic tribes of the Sitones and Peukini—the former in Sweden, whose ancient name Svitiod was probably derived from them—and the latter opposite them, probably in Jutland or Denmark. He likewise mentions the Æstii—probably the Æsthoneans—and the Fenni or Fins, evidently an aboriginal race akin to the Lopps and not Scythians, although there must have been a certain blending and intermixture between them, as Procopius, in the sixth century, speaks of the Scintfenni or Scythian Finns.

From these authorities it appears indubitable that the Scythians—by which term we here intend exclusively the nomadic and barbarous races known to ancient historians by that name, and not their civilized kindred in Greece and Asia Minor, had, at a very early period, established their dominion throughout the greater portion of Northern and Central Europe. In the time of Herodotus, the name of Scythia was evidently applied to all the region to the north of Italy and east of Gaul—for he styles the Danube "the largest river in Scythia." † Their territory must, therefore, at that time have embraced the region subsequently occupied by the Sarmatians and known to later geographers as Sarmatia. The acquaintance of Herodotus himself with these people appears to have

* Knythinga Sago. † Book iv.

been principally acquired during a visit to the Greek settlements on the northern shores of the Euxine. He describes them as nomadic tribes, living on animal food, keeping large troops of horses and excelling in horsemanship and archery. These tracts, as well as their location, would seem to identify them with the Hippomolgi, or mare-milkers, and the Glocto-phogi or cheese-eaters, mentioned by Homer,* and living north of Thrace and Asia Minor. Hippocrates describes them as gross and fleshy, with loose and yielding joints and little hair. He adds that it was customary for a Scythian to drink the blood of the first man he slew in battle and to preserve as trophies the scalps and skin of the enemies that he overthrew. They entombed their kings amid sacrifices of men and beasts, and put great faith in soothsayers and magic arts. In many of these features we may perceive no slight correspondence with the North American Indians.

Notwithstanding their antiquity and vast extent, the Scythians, by that name, do not appear to have made a very prominent figure in history. The only important events recorded of them are the invasion by them of Media, and the retaliatory invasion by Darius Hystospes. Both these events are mentioned by Herodotus. In 624 B. C., the Scythians entered Media, defeated Cyaxares, the reigning monarch, and occupied the territory for twenty-eight years before they were expelled. In retaliation for this outrage, Darius invaded Scythia, about 513 B. C. He formed a bridge across the Danube, and crossing that river, obtained some advantage over the Scythians. But he was unable to effect any real conquest of these nomad tribes, and narrowly escaped having his retreat cut off by the destruction of his bridge. The only positive result of his campaign was the reduction of the Getæ, whom he rendered tributary.†

In the time of the Roman Empire, the name of Scythia had entirely disappeared from European geography. Ptolemy

* *Iliad*, viii.

† Cyrus is said to have fallen in a battle against the Scythians; but these were the Mossegetæ, an Asiatic tribe of the race.

and his contemporary geographers speak of Scythia as a region altogether Asiatic, lying along the Caspian Sea, and divided into *Scythia intra Imaum*, comprising the Keighuz steppes, and *Scythia extra Imaum*, comprising Thibet and Little Bacharia or Tartary. The region in the neighborhood of the Danube called Scythia by Herodotus, was at that period entirely occupied by the Sarmatians, and the territory itself known as Sarmatia. But the descendants of the Scythians were still to be found in the three or four great branches which, under different appellations, continued to occupy the whole of Northern and Central Europe. There were, first, the Goths, a vast nation, or rather agglomeration of tribes, consisting not only of the Getæ, the original inhabitants of the province of Dacia, on the Euxine, which had been subdued by Darius, and finally erected into a Roman province by Trojan, A. D. 103; but their kindred tribes, the Gothones of Scandinavia, with their two great branches, the Æstrogoths and Westrogoths, who, either expelled by the Basternæ or emigrating in search of a milder climate, entered with their kindred on the shores of the Euxine and came to be known by the general name of Goths about A. D. 215. The language of these people approached very nearly to the ancient dialect of the Franks. Like the other German tribes, they suffered their hair to grow long, wore beards and dressed in furs; but unlike most Germans, the royal descent among them was hereditary, and they had acquired many of the civilized arts of the Eastern Empire. The knowledge which they had acquired of the art of war as practised among civilized nations, combined with their natural ferocity, rendered them dangerous neighbors to the already enervated Romans.

The second grand division of the races of Scythian descent consisted of the Germans, who occupied the borders of the Rhine and extended their dominion to the Baltic. At what time these tribes migrated from Asia, we are not with any certainty informed; but their identity with the early Scythian tribes is established by their very names. As early as the time of Herodotus they had driven the Gauls across the Rhine and established themselves in their seats; and

even in the palmy days of the Roman empire they were strong enough to resist its encroachments and maintain their own independence. Of these German tribes, Tacitus, as well as Cæsar, has left us a vivid description. Their vast stature, long yellow hair, fierce blue eyes, indomitable courage and personal devotion to a single leader; their dark superstitions and worship of an invisible deity; their stern resolution and tenacity of will, are all placed before us with a distinctness which makes them seem almost contemporaneous figures with ourselves. The pre-eminent features in these tribes was their faculty of binding themselves together in a common brotherhood or confederation, for the purposes of defensive and aggressive warfare, while retaining their separate and independent government. A number of these tribes, principally belonging to the Suevi, had, at an early period combined under the title of All-men—men of all tribes, or, according to others, men full of virility—who, originally uniting for the purpose of resistance to Roman encroachment, at last became strong enough to menace the existence of Rome herself. Others had formed the association called the Franks or freemen. These combined under a single leader, Pharamond, threatened and invaded the territory of Gaul. Still to the north of these tribes lay the Saxons, Angles and Jutes, who, bordering on the Baltic Sea and the ocean, had become sea-faring men, and were to extend the Teutonic power into the islands, the extreme western boundary of Roman dominion.*

The last and most terrible of the Scythian races in Europe were the Scandinavians † or descendants of the Basternæ, who

* "Under that ancient name of Scythæ or Goths, they were soon, by degrees, to seize on the whole Western empire, nay, to possess even the fertile coasts of Africa. The Vandals, whom Tacitus and Pliny, found in the north of Germany, were to fight with Belisarius in the plains of Numidia. The Suevi were to possess the fragrant fields of Spain. The Longobardi were to enjoy the orange groves of Italy. The Angli, whom Tacitus puts in a list of names, were to give their names to a country eminent in arts and learning, wisdom and liberty."

† Ptolemy mentions from Scandeas three small—perhaps Funen Zeeland and Loland—and one large, comprising all the known portions of Sweden and Norway.

inhabited the bleak regions in the vicinity of the Baltic. Of all the Scythian race, these had not only never emanated from their pristine barbarism, but had intensified it to a savage ferocity only paralleled in the history of our own American Indians. One feature which pre-eminently distinguishes this branch of the races is the fact that their principal mode of subsistence and also their chief exploits were by sea. It is not unlikely that among these northern marauders, the Scythian, or Teutonic blood had become strongly intermingled with that of the Kymric who were the ancient inhabitants of northern Europe. It is certain that to the indomitable resolution, the cool courage and capacity for discipline which characterizes the races of Teutonic descent, they added no little of the wild enthusiasm, and the savage, gratuitous ferocity for which the Kymri were remarkable in all ages. When preparing for war they inflamed their tempers with liquor and their minds with lays of blood and rapine, until maddened with rage they rushed forth carrying death and desolation wherever they went. The frenzied rages to which they were subject, and which rendered them a terror even to their fellows, have been handed down by Norse tradition to the present day. In their physique, also, appeared not a little of the Kymric or Gælic element. Their great stature, sanguine complexions, and hair often red instead of the habitual German yellow, all indicated a mixed or partially Gælic extraction. Living in regions were pasturage was scanty and the care of flocks and herds unprofitable, they derived their chief subsistence from the sea, and from fishers ere long became hardy navigators and explorers of distant and unknown regions. At a very early period they had already discovered and colonized Greenland and Iceland; and traditions, too well authenticated to be without foundation, attribute to them early settlements on the shores of our own continent. Orkney and Shetland, the Thule of the ancients, were peopled by them, and they formed no small part of the population of the Hebrides, whose inhabitants to this day display evidences of being of a mixed Norse and Gælic extraction. These were the people who, though now occupying the remotest corner of Europe, were

eventually to lay the foundations of the empire which at present overspreads fully half its extent.

We can see that even while Rome continued to style herself the mistress of the world, there were vast races, all of one descent, which she could not subdue and which were ready to take advantage of her first moment of weakness. This opportunity was eventually afforded by the division of the Empire. The first disturbances were to be from the Goths. As early as A. D. 260, Ostrogothic expeditions had seized the Cimmerian Bosphorus, taken Trebizond and ravaged the Euxine shores. Others had penetrated into Asia and the south of Europe, plundered Bithynia and ravaged Greece. At the same period Italy was suffering from an incursion of the Alemanni, or All-men. Finding the Empire besieged at various points, and showing unmistakable signs of internal weakness, the Goths soon became emboldened to further efforts. In A. D. 269, they fitted out a naval expedition which landed in Macedonia and ravaged the Grecian territory, but were defeated by the Emperor Claudius and driven from the country. Three years afterwards they recovered Dacia, their ancient possession, the Emperor Aurelius being compelled to abandon it to them in order to concentrate his forces to repel the Alemanni, who were again invading Italy. In A. D. 278 it had become necessary to build a wall from the Rhine to the Danube as a bulwark against the invading German nations; and the Roman villas on the confines of the Euxine had assumed the fortified aspect which gave rise to the medieval castle. The Goths in the meantime were not idle. In A. D. 331, they were re-inforced by the Vandals, who had extended their territory until it reached the Gothic border. Many other tribes were incorporated with them, and in A. D. 350 was formed, under Enneuric, the great Gothic kingdom which extended from the Don to the Theiss, a tributary of the Danube, and from the Black Sea to the Vistula and the Baltic. It embraced Thrace, Mœsia, Dacia, and large districts of Poland, Russia and Prussia.

The situation of the great Gothic kingdom would necessarily bring it into continual conflict with the Roman Empires,

Eastern and Western. Two Roman emperors fell in battle with the Goths, and both Rome and Constantinople were compelled at different times to pay them tribute. There was one circumstance which, it might have been supposed, would have tended to moderate the bitterness of these conflicts. The Goths had been the first of the northern nations to embrace Christianity. As early as A. D. 360, Ulphilas, bishop of the Mæsogoths, who from their vicinity to the Eastern Empire, excelled the other Goths in civilization, had invented a German alphabet, and translated the New Testament into Gothic. This so rapidly extended the progress of the Christian faith that by A. D. 400 it had become the religion of nearly all the Gothic tribes. But unfortunately the Gothic Christians had embraced the Aryan heresy, which rendered them objects of greater abhorrence to both the Roman and Oriental churches than the tribes of heathendom itself. The severest ecclesiastical measures had been adopted, accompanied—where the Roman power prevailed—by civil measures equally severe, to compel these new converts back into the recognized faith—and the result was a mutual hatred far exceeding that of their heathen neighbors. The manifestation of this hatred was for a while restrained by internal divisions in the Gothic kingdom itself, which about A. D. 369 resulted in its dismemberment, the Ostrogoths occupying the territory from the Don to the Dnieper, and the Visigoths from the Dnieper to the Danube.

About A. D. 370, the wild races of the west and north began to make further incursions. The Franks had already made several inroads into Gaul, and were now joined by the Burgundians, a Vandalic race who invaded the territory now known as Alsace and Lorraine. The same period witnessed the commencement of the great race who now occupy the principal portion of the British isles. These islands had already experienced the assaults of the wandering tribes who had become a terror to Europe. Of the Scandinavian freebooters, a roving tribe—whose name *Scuits*, afterwards softened into Scots, indicates their Scythian origin—had seized and occupied the northern portion of Ireland, over which their dominion had, by the middle of the fourth century, increased

to such an extent that the island was known to the Romans of that period as commonly by the name of Scotia as by that of Hibernia. A part of this same tribe, which tradition represents to have come from Ireland, but which very probably was a later migration from the main land, subsequently entered Scotland. Here, among the Gæls and the Picts, their predecessors in Caledonia, they found enemies prepared to hotly contest with them every inch of territory; but a stronger temptation existed in the rich and level lands of the south, which allured Scot, and Pict, and Gæl to forget their hostilities and unite in devastations on their more prosperous neighbors. Even by the Roman soldiers who then officered Britain, they were with difficulty confined within their own bounds; but when the Roman Empire, weakened by repeated assaults, was constrained to withdraw its troops for the protection of its soil, they then poured into Britain with a force that was irresistible. How the Britains invoked the aid of the Saxons to repel the Northern invaders, and how the Saxons, having driven the Scots back into their own territory became themselves invaders of British soil and established their own dominion in Britain, are matters of history too generally known to require more than a passing allusion.

In Scotland the Celtic race appears to have insensibly melted away in the presence of the Teutonic. The Picts, in course of time, entirely disappeared, and no traces of them are now to be found, unless we may recognize their descendants in the undersized, swarthy and black-haired Celts who are still intermingled with the large-limbed and fair-haired Highlanders. The Gælic populations, however, remained secure in their mountain fastnesses, where long after the Scots had become a civilized and peaceful people, they continued to be a thorn in their side.

Notwithstanding their savage origin, the Scots once become the ruling race in Caledonia, developed ere long into a civilization far beyond that of their Highland neighbors. At the earliest period of their history, they were described as a civilized nation, possessing an organized government and even an hereditary monarchy. That deeds of violence

and rapine continued to be common among them even to a late period is, however, but too evident from the raids or forays which are of continual recurrence on the pages of Scottish history; and it cannot be denied that to a recent period, if not at the present day, they retained unmistakable points of resemblance with the ferocious people from whom they sprang. It appears in the stern virtues and sterner vices by which they have always been distinguished; in the innate ferocity which displayed itself on numerous occasions in their history, which even records individual acts of cannibalism occurring in historical, and what were called civilized times. * It appears again in the vindictive bigotry displayed in their religion, whether Roman or Protestant; and in the gloomy character of their superstitions, wherein even the fairies—the most beautiful of the creations of the fancy—became little more than a species of minor demon, moody and malicious, and the Fairy Queen herself partook more of the nature of Hecate than Titania.

While the Scandinavian and German tribes were thus extending themselves in the west, the Goths in the east were themselves the objects of an invasion which was to effect a material change in their own condition, and prove of great moment in their subsequent history.

It will be remembered that the Scythia of the later Roman geographers is described as a purely Asiatic region lying to the North and East of the Caspian Sea. Of these Scythians their subsequent career has never been accurately traced. They disappear from the pages of history before the advance of the Persian, Median and Parthian empires, and are lost to view. It cannot however be presumed that so vast and powerful a nation, however barbarous, could have been either completely exterminated or amalgamated with the advancing races of the south. Originally nomadic in their habits, it would be natural that they should retire before the advance guard of civilization and fall back into those yet uninhabited regions which were still opened to receive them. It is therefore in Siberia and

* See Andrew Wynton's Chronicle, and the cases of Sawney, Bean and other robbers.

Tartary that we must expect to find them; and in the Tartars, who so long roamed over the steppes of Northern and Central Asia, and more than once swarmed into Europe and struck terror among the European nations, that we must look for their descendants. The Ixpetic descent of the Tartars is maintained by their own tradition; the valley of the Oxus is the region to which they refer as the cradle of their race. The Tartars, like the Scythians, were a nomadic people, and in their habits at once pastoral and predatory. Their *physique*, however, had undergone material variations. While those tribes who, like the Turks and Circassians, remained near their old abode, retained to a great extent the Caucasian type of feature, the vast multitude who spread themselves over the south and east, commingling with the Semitic and Cushite population who had previously inhabited these regions, acquired to a great extent the squat form, broad faces, flat noses, elongated eyes, black hair and orange complexion which characterize the races which we call Mongolian. Such was the physical appearance of the Huns who, about A. D. 375, invaded the Ostrogothic kingdom. These Huns are mentioned in the Chinese history by the name of Hiong-nu, and appear to have had wars with the Chinese prior to the Christian era. Driven out by the Chinese, they remained for a while on the confines of Persia, until, increasing in number and strength, they crossed the Volga and poured into Europe in multitudes which no force could resist. They first overpowered the Alani and then the Ostrogoths, whom they admitted to an alliance and held to tribute. In the following year they menaced the Visigoths who, unable to withstand them, sought and obtained permission from Emperor Valeus to settle in the Roman territory north of the Danube. Accordingly they entered Mœsia to the number of nearly a million, and in the following year penetrated Thrace. There they might have proved valuable allies to the Roman Emperor, had they not been driven into rebellion by the oppression of the imperial Governor. In the battle which ensued in A. D. 378, Valeus was defeated at Adrianople, and burned in a cottage in which he had taken refuge. The Goths, however, speedily fell into dissensions and

were eventually driven into Pannonia, while forty thousand of their number were retained in the service of the Empire under the name of *fœderati*. The Huns meanwhile had established a kingdom in the territory which still bears from them the name of Hungary.

It is not to be supposed that the Goths would long endure this confinement between two hostile powers. Accordingly we find that in A. D. 395, the Visigoths rose in force under their chief Alaric. In the following year this leader burst into Greece, ravaged the Poloponnesus and proclaimed himself prefect of Illyria. In A. D. 398 he was chosen king of the Visigoths, and in the commencement of the fifth century invaded Italy. He was defeated at Verona by the Roman General Stilicho, who was himself a Goth, but who accomplished his victory only by withdrawing all his troops from the borders of the Rhine, and thus leaving the road open to the Germans who were not slow to avail themselves of their opportunity. In A. D. 406, troops of the Vandals, Suevi and Burgundians poured into Italy. These were also defeated by Stilicho, but the Roman army, exhausted by so many conflicts, was no longer able to resist the advance of Alaric, who, in A. D. 408, invaded Rome which was thrice besieged and finally sacked and pillaged in A. D. 410

After the death of Alaric, his successor, Atoulphus, made peace with the Romans and carried his army in Gaul. Here the Goths established a new kingdom comprising not only the southern part of Gaul, but the north of Spain, of which Toulouse was the capital, and Languedoc, Provence, and Catalonia the principal provinces. In A. D. 415, the Suevi, Vandals, and Alani, expelled from Gaul by Constantine, likewise passed into Spain, but were repelled by the Visigoths and allowed to retain only Gallicia and a few of the adjacent provinces, while the Visigoths extended their empire over the whole of Spain. Not more than five years subsequently, the entire territory of Gaul had become subject to Gothic and German domination, the Franks holding undisputed possession of the north and eventually giving their name to the whole

territory. The Burgundians occupying the east, and the Visigoths possessing the region of Aquitaine.

The Vandals having been unable to obtain more than a foothold in Spain, passed over into Africa, where, under Genseric, they established the Vandalic kingdom. This was not, however, destined to a long duration, being extinguished by Belisarius A. D. 535.

During all this period the German occupation of Britain was steadily progressing. In A. D. 449, the Jutes arrived from Denmark, and subsequently founded the kingdom of Kent. The Saxons founded the kingdom of Sussex in A. D. 477, of Wessex in A. D. 495, and Essex A. D. 527. It was not, however, until the middle of the sixth century that the Angles began to establish themselves in the region on which they were to confer the title by which it is best known.

Rome was now to undergo the most terrible invasion which she had yet experienced—the invasion of Attila, the Scourge of God. The story of this invasion does not fall within our present province; but it suffices that his ultimate defeat and the overthrow of the kingdom of the Huns was due to Gothic arms. In his attempt to invade Gaul, Attila was defeated by Theodoric at Chalons, and in his subsequent invasion of Italy, by Torismund, king of the Visigoths.* With his death, A. D. 453, the kingdom of the Huns fell to pieces. The Ostrogoths at once rose to arms, and with the aid of the Gepidæ the Huns were entirely defeated.† But the inability of Rome to sustain herself was by this time too well-known for her to derive any advantage from the defeat of her assailants. In A. D. 455, the mistress of the world was herself taken by the African Vandals under Genseric. Twenty years later, the great Western Empire was itself terminated, when Odoacer, at the head of mixed Gothic and Sarmatian tribes, dethroned the emperor and reigned in his stead. He was not, however, permitted to continue in power. At the instance of Nero, the Eastern emperor, Theo-

* *Jomandes*, ch. xlii.

† *Ib.*, ch. xlii.

doric, king of the Ostrogoths, invaded Italy and overthrew Odoacer. Theodoric thus became king, and laid the foundation of a new Ostrogothic kingdom comprising Italy with a considerable portion of Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and Hungary.

The Goths of this period, though commonly regarded as a barbarous people, were in fact by no means destitute of science and learning. During the intervals of peace they had maintained a uniform intercourse with both the Eastern and Westtern Empires, and had acquired no little of their culture and refinement. The benefits of this intercourse were now apparent in the course pursued by Theodoric. Having been himself educated at Constantinople he was a friend of the fine arts, and one of his first acts was to establish the office of *comes nitentium verum* or Count of the Fine Arts, whose office was to watch over the statues that they might not be stolen or damaged. He also appointed a public architect who was instructed with the preservation of the ancient edifices. The buildings in Rome he caused to be repaired, and adorned many other cities with new edifices.

When modern travellers survey the ruins of Rome and lament the ruthless devastation of the Goths and Vandals whose name has passed into a proverb, it may not be amiss to remember that a Gothic monarch was the preserver of many of these structures; and that the decay and demolition of so many of the finest buildings and other works of art were due not to the barbaric conquerors, but to the so-called civilized Italians of the middle ages, in the period of the internecine wars and feuds of rival families.

While the Ostrogoths were thus establishing a kingdom on the ruins of the great Roman Empire, the Visigoths were losing ground in the West. The Franks under Clovis had already obtained possession of Belgian Gaul, and about four years before the establishment of Theodoric's government had put an end to Roman domination by the victory of Soissons. During the following ten years he reduced the Alemanni at Zulpich; subjugated the Bretons in Armorica, and drove the Visigoths out of Aquitaine. Having embraced Christianity

he was crowned king at Rheims, A. D. 496, by his own hands, and his successors received from the Pope the title of *most Christian King and eldest Son of the Church.* Burgundy was likewise reduced to a fief of the Frankish kingdom which extended over Germany as well as Gaul. From this period the Frankish power appear to have been continually on the ascendant while that of the Goths was already verging to its decline. The Ostrogothic kingdom came to an end A. D. 554, and sixteen years later the Longobardi, or Lombards, seized Italy, which they held for two centuries, Rome and Ravenna alone maintaining their independence. The Visigoths in Spain were by this time closely allied with Rome, having embraced the Roman faith under Recused I; but their empire was abolished in A. D. 701, by the conquest of the Moors, who seized the whole of the peninsula with the exception of a few northern provinces in which the Gothic inhabitants were obliged to take refuge under the protection of the Frankish kings. The Frankish monarchy, on the other hand, notwithstanding various reverses, continued to increase until it attained its culmination under Charlemagne, who, in the eighth and ninth centuries established the great Frankish empire comprehending Gaul, Italy and Germany to the North Sea. When the sons of Charlemagne divided the empire in A. D. 843, the imperial title remained with the German division who have retained it to this day.

We must not, however, consider the Teutonic conquerors as having by any means exterminated the Celtic and Latin inhabitants of Gaul, Spain and Italy, or as constituting the bulk of the population of these regions. Although no longer the ruling power, there can be little doubt that they still exceeded in number the conquerors on whom they eventually imposed their language, their manners and customs, and not a few of their institutions. This was, of course, due in part to their superior civilization, but undoubtedly also to their undiminished numbers. The division of the great Frankish Empire was a division of races as well as rulers. In the brilliant qualities of the French of the present day—perhaps also in the levity and fickleness of which they are accused—it is impossible not

to recognize the characteristics of the impulsive Gæl and mercurial Celt; while in the modern Italian and Spaniard, the descendant of the ancient Roman is equally recognizable. The German Empire alone continued in population and character purely Teutonic; nor were the Germans of the time of Tacitus distinguished from the ancient Celt and Latin by more marked characteristics than are their descendants at the present day from their neighbors across the Rhine and beyond the Alps.

During the period of history commonly known as the middle ages, the German race may be considered as the controlling power in Europe. This was undoubtedly owing in a great degree to their having preserved beyond any of their congenitors the original and distinguished characteristics of the race, unmodified by Celtic or Latin intermixture. The feature which distinguished the German beyond every other people was fidelity and devotion to his chief. The German soldier was bound to his chieftain by ties firmer than the transient love of war or inconstant success. His whole life was devoted to the service of his leader, and he held himself ever ready to meet his summons. When the nation marched to war, the German warriors formed around their chieftain a devoted band, each soldier ready and glad to sacrifice himself for his leader's safety. Each looked on the life and liberty of his chief as intrusted to his especial care; and if any one survived his imprisonment or death, he was forever branded as a coward. We can see the immense advantage possessed by warriors such as these over the undisciplined valor of the Gaul, or the mercenary service of the Latins. The companions in arms of a chief were known as Gesellen—whence the word vassal—and received no pay beyond their arms, horses and provisions, and the portion of spoil allotted to each. When the northern bands conquered the Roman territory, this portion included large sections of the lands wrested from their former owners. These were held, however, simply as fiefs or loans from the lord who was considered the paramount owner. Hence arose the feudal system, which, originating in Germany, gave eventually its character to all the landed

property throughout Europe; and hence also the spirit of chivalry which ennobled and refined the ferocity of the middle ages. If in after ages the feudal system became and was an instrument of the most oppressive tyranny, it cannot be forgotten that it had a great share in civilizing and disciplining the first barbarous landholders; and a still further instance of the wisdom by which this race appears to have been peculiarly guided, is manifested in the subsequent institution of free cities which arose when the feudal yoke became intolerable, and were the preservers, throughout the dark ages, of commerce, the arts and civilization itself.

While the Goths were fading into obscurity and the Franks and Germans expanding into vast and powerful empires, the wild and indomitable Scandinavians did not continue idle, nor were they without influence in the formation of the great nations which at the present day divide the territory of Europe. In the ninth century, vast hordes of the barbarians, led by Rolf the Ganger, descended on the north of France; and the French sovereign obtained immunity for his people only by ceding to them the fair province of Normandy, whence their descendants, in later years, were to become the ruling power in Britain. An empire of far greater extent and equal power was about the same time opening to them on the East. As early as the fourth century, certain tribes of the Sclavonians had established a colony on the Borysthenes, whose capital was Kioff, and another further north, of which the principal city was Novgorod. These people, gradually extending their dominion to the Baltic, were drawn into hostilities with some of the Scandinavian tribes, and into a yet more fatal alliance with others. For these allies, discovering the existence of a wealthy and peaceful region to the south of their own territy, poured into Novgorod, which they captured, and proclaimed their leader Ruric king;* and the brother of Ruric, partly by treachery and partly by force, obtained possession of Kioff, and extended Scandinavian dominion from the Baltic to the Euxine.†

* *Karamsin.* Vol. I, p. 37.

† *Ibid.* Vol. I, p. 154.

In these conquests was laid the foundation of the empire of Russia; but the Kymric element which characterized the Scandinavians did not allow them to possess their land in tranquillity. Intestine conflict became the order of the day, predatory incursions were perpetual, agriculture was neglected, and the whole country presented a melancholy picture of waste and desolation, of which their earliest history gives so sad an account.*

From this unsettled condition they were rudely awakened by a fresh invasion from the east. The Tartars of Central Asia, a race, as we have seen, also of Scythian progenitors, retained in a high degree their invincibility in war, and their restless and predatory nature, overspread the whole country and held it for two centuries in subjection. Although the Golden Horde was ultimately expelled, it has left to this day a permanent impression on Russia, as can be seen in many of her institutions, and in the physical appearance of many of her people.

We have not yet arrived at the end of Scythian influence in changing the map of Europe. It was felt as late as the fifteenth century, and manifested itself in the downfall of the last remnant of Latin authority. When Constantinople, the capital of the Eastern Empire, the abode of learning and the seat of the Oriental Church, fell into Moslem hands, it was by the hands of Tartars of Turkestan. In the Turks, whose Caucasian aspect is unmistakable, we have again descendants of the Tartar race who trace back their lineage to the Scythians of Asia. With the conquest of Constantinople disappeared the last vestige of Latin rule in Europe, and the whole continent passed under the rule of nations of Scythian extraction. Of the Latin race little trace remains beyond the languages of which it was the parent, and the institutions which continue

* "Les villes sont désertes," dit Nestor, "on voit partout les villages en feu, les églises, les maisons, les granges réduites en monceaux de cendres, où les citoyens expirent sous le feu des humains ou attendent la mort avec effroi. On n'aperçut plus dans nos prairies ni chevaux ni bétail; les champs sont couverts d'herbe, et les bêtes féroces peuplent aujourd'hui les mêmes lieux habités naguère par les chrétiens." *Karamzin.* Vol. II, p. 135.

as memorials of its wisdom in the regions no longer ruled by its descendants. Gæl, Celt, Kymri, and Sclave are but remnants of nations existing by sufferance in lands which are no longer their own. The share at best to which these races are entitled in the composition of the great modern nations, has been obtained only by the loss of their national existence, their traditions, their identity itself. Whether we look to Anglo-Norman England—to the Scots of North Britain—to the Scandinavian inhabitants of Sweden, Norway, and Prussia—to the Jutes of Denmark—to France, whose name bespeaks its origin—to the Gothic races of Spain, the Burgundians of Gaul, or the Lombards of Italy—to the vast German empires which control Europe from the Rhine to the Euxine and from the Baltic to the Danube—to the Turks who maintain a feeble grasp on the shores of the Bosphorus, and the Tartars who roam the vast plains of Central Asia—even to the races who form the population of our own great Western continent—we still find as the predominent race the offspring of the ancient Scythians. Insignificant and unattractive as is the figure which these people present on the pages of history, it may with truth be said of their descendants that "their sound is gone out into all lands and their words unto the end of the world."

ART. VIII.—1. *Circulars and Catalogues, of Union College.*

2. *Addresses of its Presidents and Alumni, etc.*

WE had intended in this number of the *Review* to examine at considerable length the methods and practical workings of a number of preceptors and schools and colleges to which our attention had been called, situated within easy distance from New York. With this object in view we devoted early in the

quarter much attention, and made many pertinent observations, personally and through others whom we have confidence in; examined and annotated several circulars and catalogues, the addresses of presidents, alumni, etc. But man proposes and God disposes. Circumstances over which we had no control have prevented us carrying out our full design, and compelled us to confine to a dozen pages, more or less, observations originally intended for a score or two.

We do not intend to apologize for indulging in plainness of speech in dealing *pro* and *con*, with matters of this kind. Those who are acquainted with the course of the *Review* in the past, need not be assured for the sixty-seventh time that it could not maintain its establish repute as a *Review* by changing its tactics, and pursuing a different course. It has always regarded quackery and highway robbery as offenses closely allied; persisted in calling white, white, and black, black, regardless of the feelings of friends or foes; refused to accept the tolerable and mediocre in qualities and accomplishments, in places where the pure and unadulterated article was attainable or indispensable. And it will continue to do so. In our humble opinion, a tolerably good school is like a tolerably good egg; an averagely good educator like an averagely honest bank-teller or cashier. Few care to tolerate the one nor to trust the other. There are some posts of trusts and responsibility in this world which require to be filled by men and women whose virtues and attainments place them beyond the breath of suspicion. Among these posts stand preëminently those of teacher and school. And while we shall continue to criticise both, freely and fearlessly, it shall be the supreme desire of our heart to regard and exercise such justice and impartiality as the gods have put it in our power to do. Should we err in judgment, or fail to fulfill this, our endeavor, we need not assure our friends and foes of our readiness to make the *amende honorable.*

In our last article on schools we took occasion to speak words of deserved praise of several institutions which had lately come under our observation. It is not our purpose to add, or subtract, anything in this place to, or from, that which

we said then, except in respect of one or two to which we incidentally alluded, and which we were not at that time in a position to speak of as we ought. One of the schools to which we refer is the Portchester Institute, O. Winthrop Starr, A. M., principal. Since writing our article on education in the last number of the *Review* we have had an opportunity, through a patron of Portchester Institute, in whose intelligence and judgment we have the most implicit confidence, of knowing more about it. Prof. Starr, we are assured, is doing excellent work in preparing boys for a collegiate course, and it gives us pleasure to bear him this testimony. He is a thorough disciplinarian, and takes personal charge of his boys. Indeed, if there be any fault in his method it is in the rigor with which he prosecutes his system and discipline. To err on that side, however, will be regarded by many, more a virtue than a fault. But it must be said in favor of the Professor, that with all his severity, there is entire absence of the barbaric element. The boys walk or write out their penalties. Then, the absence of bombast in his circular and advertisement; his unpretentious demeanor; the quietude of his class rooms; the air of comfort that pervades the students' quarters; and what is certainly not least in importance, the personal care he gives to his pupils, not only in school hours but during hours of play and relaxation, are qualities and advantages, in a teacher and school for young boys, which deserve high commendation.

In respect of the Adam's Academy, we can do little more now than to reiterate what we have said before. It is deserving of all we said then and more. We bear willing testimony to the proficiency of both master and method. It is well for the State that possesses educators and academies, inspired and conducted by, and for objects and motives other than mere money. And we could do the State no better service than to bring such educators and institutions, to the knowledge and appreciation of its citizens.

The Jane Grey school at Mt. Morris, N. Y., for young ladies is deserving of equal praise. We know not when we have become acquainted with a school for misses that has given us more pleasure and satisfaction than that of Mr. Lind-

ley. His circular, too, is characterized by modesty rather than pretension. Mrs. Lindley is his accomplished assistant. In a note to us, written in the language of Cicero and Horace, she states, among other things, that her school is small but that all the pupils study to excel: "*Nostra schola est parva, sed omnes discipuli student excellere.*" We are strongly tempted to append the whole letter for the benefit of such of our readers as take delight in the latin language, and only forbear to do so through a sense of propriety.

The ultimate success of such institutions of learning may be assured. It is only a matter of time. It may be slow, like the growth and progress of everything in nature of more than an evanescent value; but the fruit they bear is of a character that requires only to be known to be appreciated.

Turning now from that which has been to us a pleasant duty, we take up a task, which, if it be less pleasant, is certainly not less in the line of duty. Oh, would that we could find in this world more to praise and less to blame! It is always pleasanter to speak words of cheer and encouragement to our struggling fellows than words of censure and condemnation. We would be loved as a critic, rather than feared as one. But the path of duty oftener lies through byways beset with thorns and thistles than with lillies and roses; up craggy steeps, than the well-worn highway. He who would walk therein must expect neither rest nor peace—and more enemies than friends; and as for happiness, except it be that which springs from the knowledge of being useful to mankind, it is as a shadow ever flying away from him!

It is in this sombre mood that we proceed to pay our respects to an institution of learning which has monopolized, of late, no small share of public attention—especially if the circulars, catalogues, reports and addresses which have been issued by it have been perused by the community. We allude to Union College—now Union University. An armful of these publications, issued within the last two or three years, lies before us; and when we consider the cost of printing these papers we cannot wonder that the college is suffering from financial embarrassment—if it pays the printer!

The day was when Union College stood fair among American colleges. A few of its alumni have been men above mediocrity. Many of its professors have been men of learning and repute. Many of them stand well to-day, as scholars and educators. Professor Lewis is well-known for his gentlemanly qualities and his rare knowledge of the ancient classics; and but for a physical defect (deafness) would be a successful teacher. As it is, however, the study of the ancient languages at *Union* is a farce; the graduates exhibiting defects, even in their knowledge of Latin, more serious than those of many graduates of the preparatory schools. We speak the plain truth setting down naught in malice. We are assured by an alumnus of the College, a recent graduate, that eight out of ten pupils who graduated at the time he did could not read the diploma which attests their proficiency! This gentleman we know well, and have the fullest confidence in his integrity, albeit he did accept a testimonial from *Union* for qualifications which he did not then possess. He has given us an amusing account of the assembling of three or four of his colleagues, after graduating, himself among the number, who, sitting down with closed doors, proceeded to study out the Latin inscription on their sheep-skins. They found it a difficult task without a dictionary, and abandoned it in disgust!

Moreover, some of the scientific studies are taught with a similar degree of inefficiency—notably Optics. This branch of useful study seems to have been devoted to the purpose of amusement rather than profit. Many studies mentioned in the catalogue were not taught at all in 1872. Among them may be mentioned Agriculture, Botany, Oriental languages, etc.; while others, as Zoology, Rhetoric, French and German literature, etc., were very imperfectly taught, and are so still. Let us add that in many departments of study Union College is very efficient, such, for example, as Chemistry, Mineralogy, the higher Mathematics and Engineering.

In Union University, the defects we have enumerated above, have been considerably enlarged upon with no adequate compensation on the side of merit. It is true the Dudley Observatory, the Albany Medical College, and the Albany

Law School, if a *school* it may be called, have been included in it. But of what use to students, pray, is the best observatory in the world seventeen miles from College? It may all be very fine for a University to include, on paper, an Astronomical Observatory. It certainly looks well in the catalogue, *alias* advertisement. But, *qui bone*, except as an advertisement?

In respect of the Albany Medical College, the propriety of "securing" that institution as a part of the necessary qualifications of a University, is obvious enough; and it is to be regretted that it is not a more substantial benefit. The Albany Medical College ranks only average among American Schools of Medicine. Its *working* faculty is composed of young men, for the most part; chosen, it would seem, for their youthfulness, rather than their experience. It has been many years since it could boast of a Beck or a March among its graduates. As a *machine* for the wholesale manufacture of doctors it is not the equal of the University Medical College of New York, but it will do. If its facilities in that direction were less we should make no complaint, nor would the public, were it sufficiently awake to its true interest to form a just judgment.

But the Albany Law "School," which has become a part of Union University, is still less worthy of commendation. Indeed, its odor is rank in the nostrils of honest lawyers everywhere, and the school itself will be an incubus upon any institution to which it is attached. The legal profession, and the State which this school disgraces, would be the gainer had it no existence. We are credibly informed that it takes less than nine months—or about the period nature requires to make a monkey—for that institution to manufacture a lawyer from the raw material,—beginning with the rough, unmoustached lad fresh from the plow or the shop, and ending with an admission to the bar! It is our pleasure to have a legal friend who not long since graduated at that institution. It is not too much to say that he does not regard the fact as anything to be proud of. Indeed, he does not hesitate to declare that what he knows of jurisprudence he has learned since his admission to practice. The worst that has been said against the school is fully corrob-

orated by him. He frankly admits that the examinations for admission to the bar are farcical in the extreme—a mere matter of form. The candidate pays his fee and takes his certificate, be the result of his examination what it may. Here is an instance in justification of our statement. A candidate for legal honors, let us rather say *favors*, in the class of 1874, was asked by the late Hon. Ira Harris, LL.D., on the occasion of his admission to the bar, the following question:

Judge Harris: "How do the pleadings under the common law conclude?"

Law Student: (After some hesitation,) "I don't know, sir."

The answer seemed quite satisfactory to the judge, howsoever embarrassing it may have been to the student, for the latter was admitted to the bar without further examination. Nor was this instance an exceptional one. So far from that being the case, a large majority of the students who were examined on the same occasion, and admitted to the bar, were in nowise so well qualified to enter upon the practice of the law as was the student whose experience we have given above. In what manner such institutions can be useful to the State, even with the glamour of "University" thrown around them, it is difficult to imagine. We cannot but wish them a short life and a long oblivion.

But let us retrace our steps, and take a few, brief glances at these circulars, catalogues, etc., which Union University has showered with such amazing industry upon an oppressed, but still gullible public. These alone supply material sufficient to occupy the critic a longer time than he, in this instance, has at his disposal. To those who have been behind the curtain at Union University, and are well acquainted with the actual facts, these publications seem the grossest bombast. Indeed, they show on their pages spread-eagleism of the baldest type. There was a time in the history of "Old Union," as its numerous alumni like to call her, when these inflated appeals to the public could not have been. Within our memory, the time was when Union College was content to work hard and

to bring forth fruit in modesty becoming a college, worthily, self-respectingly. That time seems to have passed. She appears to have been living on her past achievements for many years. Twenty years ago her chief glory was Seward and Hoffman Ask her to-day of her achievements and she points with an air of self-satisfied pride to Seward and Hoffman. Even the students reëcho this childish claim to immortality by repeating the names of Seward and Hoffman. To such an extent has this shallow-claim been advanced, and the names of these men harped upon at "Old Union," that the phrase "Seward and Hoffman" has become a by-word among the students—frequently a source of fun and facetious declamation.

The attempt of the faculty and trustees of Union College to establish a university must charitably be regarded as a spasmodic effort to throw off the incubus of the dead past and to get to work again. But the course they pursue to effect this purpose is such as must inevitably lead to discomfiture and disappointment. Take, for example, the attempt to improve the grade of scholarship, which, though never high, was never so low as at the present time. While it has raised the standard of scholarship in some particulars, so as to improve the quality of its classes, and by doing so has lost the democratic character which was once its chief glory, the average attainment has steadily declined. Of the truth of this statement we are, of course, assured through other sources than these curious documents, (circulars, etc.,) which lie before us. Nevertheless, this brief extract from the President's Report of 1875–6, is interesting:

"But the advanced standard and examinations have greatly reduced the total actual attendance as above indicated. In the Freshman class the entrances were in 1872, thirty-one; 1873, thirty-seven; 1874, sixty-one; 1875, seventy-eight, the last being the largest Freshman class on the records of the College. These comparative figures are worthy of consideration, because, while Colleges and Universities have been multiplying and the popular appreciation of collegiate education has been declining, the standard of examination for admission and term work has been raised, each year of late, in accordance with the desire of the Trustees and Faculty, so that nearly one-fourth drop out after entrance and before graduation, principally from this cause. Notwitstanding this check to numbers, there has been a large

and steady increase in the numbers in actual attendance both in Union College and in the other departments of Union University." p. 3.

We were not before aware that "the popular appreciation of collegiate education has been declining," except in respect of that furnished at Union College.

We know, however, that the "popular appreciation" of "Old Union" has been declining for many years past; and her recent attempt to establish a University—on paper—by incorporating the Albany institutions of learning with her, prompts us to remind her of the experience of the toad that aspired to become an ox. We think the danger imminent that her aspirations may be attended with consequences equally disastrous. Be that as it may, we have seldom observed a greater and more noisome display of bombast—pure and unalloyed—bombast, sometimes in bad grammar and worse rhetoric, and still worse taste, than may be found in these numerous circulars, catalogues, and addresses to which we have referred. We cite a few illustrations:

"The commendable deportment and diligence of the students reported by the Faculty, *is* not attributable alone to the advanced standard of scholarship."*

Or as a specimen of literary composition, let us cite this:

"The circumstance that the intercourse between the members of the Faculty and the students is constant and intimate, has also an evident beneficial influence. Welcome at all times in the Professors families, during sickness students have been received into the homes of several of these gentlemen, and through many anxious weeks have been nursed with unremitted care and kindness." †

We pass, unnoticed, for the want of space, the desire for gifts, bequests and endowments everywhere strongly manifested in these circulars. The word "secure" runs through some of them and is repeated *ad nauseum*. The University "never is but always to be blest." "The Trustees have *secured* the services of," etc.; "the sum of $50,000 has been *secured;*" "attention was promised to the *securing* of endowments for

* Extract, *President's Report*, 1875-6, p. 5.

† *Ibid.*, p. 6.

the library;"—another curious specimen of the English language.—"It can hardly be expected, no matter how excellent their work and their reputation, that they will *secure* the needed large endowments, by gift, bequest, or otherwise, until by the possession of such real estate in Albany, they have acquired the evident character of permanence." * And referring to the Prizes for Scholarships, founded by the late Dr. Eliphalet Nott, the latest circular and catalogue before us (p. 26), in a foot-note, observes:

"Few of those are yet actually endowed, but their ultimate endowment is *secured* by the prospective sale of valuable lands!"

But we fear we have not justified our charge of spread-eagleism. If that be so we have only to make an extract or two from an address of one of "Old Union's" Alumni, the Hon. Charles H. Jenkins, LL. D., before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, Union University, June 23d, 1874. Take this:

"In surveying the works of nature we are impressed—FIRST, with their singular adaptation to the wants, and uses of animal and vegetable life, and SECONDLY, with the marvellous garniture which profusely embellishes the useful. The tree of the forest, so valuable in the affairs of life, by its majestic, symmetrical form, (*sic*) and its beauteous foliage, attracts the admiration, and claims the careful regard of its appointed master. (!) Before the fruit comes the flower, and the richly-tinted and graceful waving blade adorns the stalk, which presently tenders to his hand the well ripened ear."

Or this:

"There, too, as the representative of a large class, yielding no fruit, nor possessing any utilitarian value (as yet discovered), modestly blooms the lily of the field, more gorgeously arrayed than was Solomon, in all his glory."

Indeed!

Or, if our readers will pardon us, this:

"Every product of Nature which supplies the wants, or delights the senses of man, was put under his hand, to "dress it, and keep it." This dressing and keeping involves the dressing as well of the beautiful, as of the useful. God made both for man, and he dare not ignore either."

Finally, a few words in a more serious vein and we have done.

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* Ext. *President's Report*, p. 8.

The want of America to-day is schools of learning, in which learning is sought by pupils, and taught by professors, for the love of it, rather than to acquire notoriety—at somebody else's expense—to gratify ambition, except it be an ambition to be useful, or to *secure* the right to write the whole alphabet after their names. Those who seek an education as a means of more earnest and higher work have never yet failed to find it with less opportunity than Union College affords. Those who do not seek it for such an object had better be turned out of universities and colleges altogether, and employed in some, to them, more useful department of work and study. They will find, out of college, ample field for honorable distinction, if they are willing to *work* for it, and thus relieve college officials from the humiliating position of begging funds to enable them to teach to unwilling heads knowledge they have no interest in, or desire of acquiring.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

BELLES LETTRES.

Shakespeare's Tragedy of King Richard II. Edited with notes, by WILLIAM J. ROLFE. A. M., *with engravings.* 18mo, pp. 225. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1876.

ALTHOUGH not occupying the first rank, even among Shakspeare's historical dramas, the tragedy of King Richard II contains passages of beauty and pathos, which render it worthy to be more extensively known than it is; while for the student of history none of Shakspeare's dramas can possess more value, for none has more accurately reproduced the facts and circumstances connected with the reign of the ill-fated sovereign whose name it bears. It would seem to have been Shakspeare's intention to present a history of the Lancastrian monarchy, commencing with the dethronement of Richard and the accession of Henry IV; following it through the glories of Henry and his successor, the temporary depression which obscured it from the deposition of Henry VI, and during the York dynasty; its revival in the person of Henry VII; and its culmination in the advent of Elizabeth. The full bearing of the course of historical events cannot, therefore, be fully conceived without the perusal of this the first play of the series; and we are glad that Mr. Rolfe has devoted one of his volumes to this tragedy—developing its historical importance by means of an introduction and copious notes; sustained by the opinions of eminent dramatic critics whose views, alternately cited, may be of service to the reader in forming his own estimate of the purpose and significance of the tragedy.

Of the "Critical Commentaries," that of Coleridge possesses the most beauty of diction, but is, like many of that fascinating author's witticisms, more brilliant than profound. That of Ulrici is more philosophical. The object of the dramatist is more thoroughly analyzed, and the political significance of the drama brought more strongly into relief in these words:

> "While, then, the poet has thus attempted to elucidate the true relation both of man to his own historical position, and of his vocation in life to God, and while he thus places the essence of the kingly dignity in its observance of its relation to God and the world, he has successfully illustrated modern political history under one of its most essential aspects, and in one of its principal ideas. This is the grand idea of the whole drama." p. 21

Germius has analyzed the plot and the characters more fully than either of his coadjutors. The importance of the opening incident—the knightly quarrel between Bolingbroke and Norfolk—which has been underrated by many commentators—receives here full justice; and it is made manifest that on this incident hinges the entire plot. It was to Richard's weakness and injustice on this occasion that all his subsequent misfortunes are due; for the confiscation of Bolingbroke's patrimony was a proceeding in which he would never have ventured, had the latter not been a banished man; and without so violent a proceeding as this to plead as justification, Bolingbroke would hardly have been sustained in his subsequent rebellion. The people sustained him because he professed "to come but for his own."* Even then he would hardly have proceeded so promptly to seize the crown but for Richard's cowardly precipitance to lay it down. That this was Shakspeare's view is evident from the lines put into the mouth of Norfolk's son in Henry IV, Act IV, Scene 1.

> "O, when the king did throw his warder down,
> His own life hung upon the staff he threw."

While there is much to commend in this edition, it is marred by one decided blemish, in the character of the illustrations. They appear to be taken principally from Weir's illustrations to Verplanck's edition of Shakspeare, published about thirty years since, and are in many instances little better than caricatures. It would have been much better to have dispensed with illustrations altogether than to have disfigured an otherwise creditable work with such eyesores as these. It is to be hoped that this defect will be remedied in future editions.

Jonah, the self-willed Prophet. A practical exposition of the Book of Jonah, together with a translation and energetical notes. By STUART MITCHELL. 16 mo., pp. 247. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsem & Haffelfinger. 1875.

WITHOUT going into the merits of this work as a religious production, it possesses undoubted value as a new translation of the Book of Jonah, with which it opens. The translators of the authorized version of the Scriptures appear to have labored under the impression—not unnatural in their day—that a certain dignity and stateliness must be preserved in the style to dis-

* Act II, Scene 3.

tinguish the book from the works of ordinary authors. The result of this has been a certain uniformity in the style of all the various writers; entirely at variance with the marked points of dissimilarity which appear in the originals: and a loss of that simplicity and genuineness, which would have carried conviction to many readers beyond any argument. It is impossible to read the translation of Mr. Mitchell without feeling that we are reading the story of a recent occurrence told by the prophet himself, while the circumstances were fresh in his memory. Take for instance the following passage, and compare it with the authorized translation:

"And the men dug to bring (it) to the land; and they could not for the sea (was) going and tossing against them. And they cried to Jehovah, and said: Ah! now, Jehovah, let us not perish, pray, for this man's life, and lay not upon us innocent blood, for thou Jehovah, hast done as thou pleasedst. And they took up Jonah, and cast him forth into the sea, and the sea stood from its raging. And the men feared Jehovah (with) great fear, and they sacrificed a sacrifice to Jehovah and bowed vows." P. 10.

Is not this the language of a spectator, if not an actor, in the scene?

In the exposition, though lucid and instructive, we do not find anything remarkably novel. Whether Jonah really believed that at Tæshish we would be beyond the reach of the God of Israel, can only be a matter of conjecture. Mr. Mitchell considers it impossible, or at least inconsistent with the prophet's knowledge of the divine attributes; but it appears to us quite in keeping with the character of a Hebrew prophet, that while theoretically recognizing the omnipresence, he might have supposed that only the chosen people were the objects of His notices, and that in the remotest quarter of the inhabited globe—for Tæshish is supposed to have been Tartessus in Spain—he would have been overlooked both for good and evil.

The conjectures as to the character of the fish which swallowed Jonah, appear to us rather futile. No fish has ever been found which will answer the description exactly. The throat of the whale is too narrow to admit the passage of the human body. Although the sperm whale is an exception to this rule, it is a fish never found except in northern latitudes. The white sharks, to which our author inclines, though quite capable of swallowing a man, has such rapid powers of digestion that a three days existence in its body is impossible. Indeed, it is difficult to see how life could be preserved naturally in any event within the body of a fish, cut off from pure air. The fact is that if we accept the miracle we must recognize it as a miracle in its entirety—a fish miraculously prepared, and the life of the prophet as miraculously preserved during his imprisonment within it.

In fact we could never discover any logic in the attempts so often conscientiously made to explain Scriptural miracles. If they were miracles, if

the Scriptual writers expressly assert them to have been such, they require no explanation. If otherwise, the whole authority on which they rest necessarily falls to the ground; and it is more logical to discard them as fictions than to seek to explain their miraculous character. An important question involved here is the credibility of the Scriptural authors; and that is to be decided on grounds entirely different, and will, in most cases, be practically decided by each inquirer according to his own religious bias. And to us that is sufficient reason to doubt the utility of such studies and of the books which embody them.

HISTORY.

Dix ans de l'histoire d'Allemagne. Origine du nouvel Empire, d'après la correspondance de Frédéric-Guillaume IV et du Baron de Bunsen. 8vo, pp. 438. Paris: Didier et Cie. 1875.

In this chapter of the secret history of the progress of German unity, and the causes which led to the formation of the present empire, gathered principally from the memories of the Baron de Bunsen and the letters of King Frederic William IV, the author is at great pains to express his total want of sympathy with either of the parties to the discussion, saying expressly:

"Nous n'avons pas à prendre parti pour Fréderic-Guillaume IV ou pour M. de Bunsen; tous les deux nous détestent et nous tiennent également à défiance." p. 108.

Iti s perfectly clear that his sympathy throughout the work is in reality given to Frederic William—a sympathy moreover mingled with unmistakable admiration. It is difficult to find in the pages of this work much justification for this sympathy; or in fact any reason for it beyond the fact that the scrupulous nature and vacillating policy of the king had the effect of postponing for a number of years the formation of an empire, which, under present circumstances, is naturally hateful to France. In reviewing the conduct of Frederic William as revealed in his actions as well as his correspondence, we can find little to explain it beyond the surperstitious

reverence for the House of Hapsburg, as possessed, *jure divino*, of the imperial authority, a total disregard of the will of the people, however distinctly expressed, and a tenacious adherence to the ancient feudal principles which he was determined to maintain at any sacrifice. To the combined obstinacy and vacillation of this sovereign may in fact be attributed nearly all the terrible scenes through which Germany, and perhaps France also, have passed during the last quarter of a century. When there was first a question at Frankfort of uniting the German nation and forming a new empire in which Austria, with her two-thirds Sclavonic population, her principles of despotic government, and her feudal traditions, was to have no part, he felt obliged to justify to himself and to Austria his willingness to accept the leading position in this confederation, by representing that it was without prejudice to the empire of Austria :

"C'est pour l'Autriche que l'empire devait être reconstitué non pas un empire moderne et révolutionnaire, l'empire des vieux âges, le *saint-empire-romain*, ayant à la droite la *royauté allemande*. Auprès d'un Hapsbourg, chef du saint-empire, il y aurait un Hohenzollern roi d'Allemagne." P. 83.

How utterly he was mistaken in assuming that such a theory would be accepted either by the German Parliament at Frankfort or the Austrian Empire, the event speedily showed. The parliament had already constituted an executive, styled the vicar of the Empire, who was selected in the first instance from the imperial family of Austria. The first act of the new vicar was to abolish the distinctive standards and claim for himself the allegiance of all the German armies. This was enough in itself to create general dissatisfaction. The king of Prussia on the other hand would not recognize the acts of the Parliament, saying emphatically:

"N'oubliez pas, messieurs, qu'il y a des princes en Allemagne et que je suis un de ces princes." P. 99.

When the parliament at Frankfort proposed to confer on Frederic William the imperial crown of United Germany, it was rejected by him with contempt. He would not receive a revolutionary crown. The crown which he desired must be recognized as his by divine right. His sudden changes of purpose, at one time showing a disposition to accept the empire of Germany, at another refusing to recognize any act which had not the assent and approval of Austria, indicate a mind almost distracted between a superstitious veneration for established institutions and a decree to see realized the dream of national unity. But the position which he maintained was the very worst that could have been chosen. Had he boldly adopted either side, some definite results would have been accomplished—as it was, everything

became muddled. The acts of the parliament were to be ignored as revolutionary, but the work was to be done anew by a congress of princes at Berlin. Frederick William could not all this time have failed to see that by these delays and tergiversations he was risking all that Germany held most dear and an object which he himself had strongly at heart. His sole apology seems to have consisted in the constant repetition of the remark which, though highly lauded by its author, appears to us selfish rather than patriotic, superstitious rather than religious: "*Dixi et salvavi animam meam.*"

With the Berlin Congress commenced the series of humiliations which Prussia was destined to undergo until the end of this reign. Every step thenceforward taken appears to have been disastrous. The alliance with the kings of Hanover and Saxony was destined to be rudely broken by them the moment that Austria felt herself at liberty to intervene. In the meantime Germany, discouraged by the refusal of the king, had become the theatre of revolutions which having been successfully repressed by the intervention of Prussia, seemed to offer to that power the opportunity of placing herself once more at the head of a United Germany. But the moment was past. Austria, having succeeded, by the aid of Russia, in putting down the insurrection in her dominions, soon showed that she had no intention of abiding by the rôle assigned her by Frederick William. The clear intellect and vigorous will of the Austrian prime minister, the Prince de Schwortzenberg, proved altogether too much for the king of Prussia who was already weaned from the influence, wise though feeble, of Bunsen, and had fallen entirely into the hands of Radowitz, a dreamer like himself. Not only did he successfully intrigue with the other German powers, but he was able to disturb the consciences of the king and Radowitz, manifesting to them that to Austria belonged, of *divine right*, not only the Holy Roman Empire, but the royalty of Germany. It was not long before he succeeded in detaching the king of Hanover and Saxony from the alliance, in annihilating the office of vicar of the Empire, and in fact re-establishing the ancient German diet in which Austria held the paramount position. We have not space in the present pages to recount the entire list of humiliations to which Prussia was subjected. Let it suffice to say that from every step which Frederick William had been induced to take, he found himself obliged disgracefully to recede. The convention of Olmutz finally reduced Prussia to the rank of an inferior power—the same Prussia which was destined sixteen years later to hurl the Austrian Empire out of Germany, and which was so reduced not by any want of strength in herself but simply by the imbecility and tergiversations of her sovereign.

The responsibility of Frederic William for all the humiliations undergone by Prussia and the reverses which have paved the way for the battle of Sadowa and perhaps even for those of Sedan and Paris, are more clearly manifested in the book than has hitherto been practicable, from the copious extracts of the correspondence of the king with his minister Bunsen. Another fact, though not so prominently set forth, becomes evident in the progress of the history; namely, that Germany contained within itself obstacles to the formation of the unity so dreaded by France, which would have been insurmountable had not Napoleon III caused them to disappear by his ill-judged interference—an interference which united the Germans as one man, and brought about in one year the result which centuries had hitherto proved unable to effect:

"Si pendant plusieurs siècles par la diplomatie et par les armes, la France a empêché l'unité de l'Allemagne, on peut dire que depuis cinquante ans, par l'étourderie passionnée de quelques-uns de ses politiques, elle a refait et constitué cette unité menaçante. De grandes difficultés intérieures contrarieront toujours l'accomplissement d'une telle œuvre; dès que la France parait tentée de mettre ces difficultés à profit, elles s'évanouissent. La meilleure politique à l'égard de l'Allemagne sera toujours de ne pas lui contester, même en paroles, le droit de s'organiser chez elle comme il lui plait; l'unité luit moins quand la France en est moins occupée." P. 88.

Mummies and Moslems. By CHARLES DUDLEY WARREN. 8vo., pp. 477. Hartford. American Publishing Co. 1876.

So much has been said, written and sung, about Egypt and the Nile, that it is well-nigh impossible for any work, of which they are the theme, to present a vast amount of novelty. So great, however, is the interest of the subject; so endless the inquiries to which it gives rise, and so inexhaustible the reservoir which it affords for inquiry and conjecture, that no work which treats the matter with skill can be altogether devoid of interest. This is the case with the work before us. Although not at all profound, nor very novel, going altogether over well-trodden ground and adding little to our knowledge of the land of the Pharaohs, there is something so orignal in the author's impressions, so fresh and life-like in his descriptions, that the book possesses a charm to the readers altogether independent of any intrinsic value that it may claim.

We must confess that we would gladly have been spared the greater

part of the descriptions of modern Alexandria and Cairo. Modern Egypt always appears to us—if we may say it without presumption—an anachronism—an impertinence; like clothing the fragments of an ancient statue with modern rags and tinsel, and expecting the beholder to be interested by it. The mixture of European, Asian and African nationalities—the African appearing almost in the minority—the mixture of shiftlessness, ignorance and knavery, which besets the traveller at every step—all these are undeniable facts, and facts which must be noticed, to some extent, in a book of travels; but we should greatly prefer to take them as much as possible for granted; to linger no longer among them than is absolutely necessary, and hasten to take refuge among the ruins of Thebes and Kamak, and the solitudes of the Nile.

Of course, such objects as Pompey's Pillar, Cleopatra's Needle, the pyramids of Ghizeh, and the Sphinx, could not with any propriety be overlooked; and with these we are willing enough to linger for a short time. But, in fact, we find too little about the Pyramids and too much about the peculiarities of the Arab guides and other features of the excursion. The Sphinx, however, is brought before us with a vividness more effective than any description of the figures that we remember:

"We had been wondering where the Sphinx was, expecting it to be as conspicuous almost as the pyramids. Suddenly, turning a sand-hill, we came upon it, the rude lion's body struggling out of the sand, the human head lifted up in that stiff majesty which we all know." P. 95.

The real interest of the work, however, commences when we are fairly afloat on the Nile. The author appears so well aware of this fact that we are surprised that he should have thought it necessary to detain us through nine chapters, among the scenes of Alexandria and Cairo. Every reader will sympathize with his feelings when starting on this mysterious voyage:

"We have committed ourselves to a stream that will lead us thousands of years backward in the ages, into the depths of history. When unloosed from Cairo, we let go our hold upon the modern. As we recede, perhaps we shall get a truer perspective, and see more correctly the width of the strip of time which we call 'our era.' There are the pyramids of Geezeh *(sic)* watching our departure, lifting themselves aloft in the evening sky; there were the pyramids of Sakkara; sentinels of that long part into which we go." P. 129.

Even when on the Nile we cannot but feel that the we should have some preference; a little less of modern Egyptian life, and a little more of ancient Egypt and ruins. Of Thebes, especially, we would derive a fuller account. The speculations about the actual situation of ancient Thebes are, however, curious and interesting. The Nile, at present, divides the plain on which the

city was built into unequal parts; but our own author enumerates several facts which tend strongly to prove that the river has been for centuries, and is still changing its bed, and that in all probability it originally ran under the eastern bluff and encompassed the city. The temples of Kamak and of Dayrel Bahree are erected in such positions that the avenues of sphinxes before them would have met were there no stream to intercept them. The *colossi*, which must have stood originally on the hard sand of the desert, are now in an alluvial soil that buries their bases over seven feet and is annually inundated. The river is now eating away the east bank at Luxer and encroaching on the eastern shore, while it adds annual deposits to that on the west. The temple, which even thirty years ago was beyond walking distance from the river, is now within a few rods of the bank. Tradition says that the village of Emuent, which is now on the western bank of the river, one hundred and fifty years ago was on the eastern side. All these *indicia* render it probable that the Nile, in the days of the Pharaohs, ran on the easterly side of the plain and is now working its way back to the old channels. Another fact, which the author omits to notice, is that the majority of these ruins are hewn out of the solid rock. This rock would, of course, have formed a barrier to the progress of the river, and in the changing of its bed it would necessarily have gone round the obstacle instead of washing it away. It is remarkable that the term "hundred-gated" applied by Homer to Thebes is a misnomer. It never could have had any walls and did not require gates. Perhaps Homer intended by the term to designate the pylons or entrances to the numerous temples which well have deserved the epithet, "ἑκατομπυλοδ."

The *colossi* of Abou Limbel are the greatest wonder of all this region. Of their immense size an idea may be formed from the fact that a man may sit in the navel of one of them! They cannot, however, in all probability boast of the highest antiquity in a region where everything is ancient; for although the workmanship is Egyptian, they are situated in the territory of Ethiopia and must have been constructed during a temporary occupation of that region by Egyptian conquerors. That is, if we accept the usual supposition that the Ethiopians were the original possessors of the territory known by their name, and were only subjected from time to time to Egypt. But there is really nothing in history or tradition to render incredible a diametrically opposite theory—namely, that the Egyptians originally occupied the entire region, and were expelled by the Cushites and driven into the lower territory which they occupy in history. It is certain that the further we ascend the Nile the greater appearance of antiquity is presented

by the ruins; and it is equally certain that the Ethiopians had at one period a home in Asia, to which their name continued to be applied at the time of the composition of the book of Genesis, which speaks of the river Gihon, a tributary of Euphrates, that "Compasseth the whole land of Ethiopia." *

But we have altogether too little of the real wonders of Egypt; of Thebes, of Aboo-Limbel and mysterious Philae; of the memnoniums, the Pyramids and the Sphinx; on the other hand we have altogether too much of the modern peculiarities of the country—the degraded copts, half christian, half moslem—the religion and amusements of the people, which, after all, differ from those of other moslems principally in their comparatively degraded character; and too much of the life on the *dahabeeh* or Nile boat, and of the humors of the guides and sailors. For these reasons we have found the work a disappointment, and would gladly return to our old favorites, Wilkinson, Prime and Curtis, and old Belzoni himself for a flavor of the real antiquity which Mr. Warner has contrived to dilute too effectually for our satisfaction.

* Genesis, ch. 2, v. 13.

1. *Reports of Insurance Commissioners, Litigations, etc.*

THE year now drawing to a close has witnessed sad and serious complications in the affairs of insurance companies which have hitherto borne a high reputation, for pecuniary responsibility at least, if not for some of the other qualities which it is desirable for a company to possess. In our last number we were called upon to chronicle the disastrous failure of the Penn Fire, in Philadelphia, and the legal proceedings instituted against the Equitable Life, of our own city by one of its stockholders. At present we are confronted with a still more serious proceeding against the United States Life, a company which at one time had, according to the complaint, "done a large and profitable business in this and most of the other States of the Union, and established a reputation for solvency, solidity and good management." The charge brought against this Company is nothing less than a conspiracy on the part of some of its Directors to destroy the business of the Company and transfer its business, assets and property to a company in Boston, of which the late president of the United States Life, has now become president. The complaint charges that the former and present presidents of the Company have contrived to bring about the resignation of most of the directors and the substitution of creatures of their own in their place, and have thus obtained entire control of the corporation, so that no vote, resolution or contract can be passed without their consent; and that they have purposely created distrust of the solvency and solidity of the Company, in order that the policy-holders may be induced to surrender their policies for an insignificant part of their value, or to transfer their policies to some other corporation. Of course, it would be premature to express any opinion as to the truth of these allegations, until the charges have been fairly tried; but two facts are undeniable: one, that Justice Gilbert considered them sufficiently well sustained to enjoin the directors from disposing of the assets of the Company; the other, that a company which presented a return of assets exceeding (on paper) the sum of four millions of dollars, has become so much the subject of distrust and unfavorable rumors that it is feared lest its stock may become worthless, unless protected by the interference of the courts. Our attention has been particularly called to this matter by the receipt of numerous journals containing articles, all written with the same evident purpose, namely, that of prejudging the case in favor of the United States Life, or rather of creating the impression in advance that the proceeding against it is the re-

sult of a conspiracy organized by a company of *wreckers*—as the supposed conspirators are styled with remarkable unanimity in every article that has been brought to our notice. So similar, in fact, are all these articles in tone, sentiment and style, that it is difficult to imagine them to emanate from more than one pen, or at least pens guided by more than one directing spirit. It may be as they allege—but on that subject we prefer to reserve our opinion, or at least the expression of any opinion, until this and all the issues in the case have been submitted to a fair and open trial.

In the meanwhile it may not be amiss to ascertain what is the present financial condition of the United States Life on its own showing. To this investigation we are invited by the champions of the Company itself, in language of which the following passage—taken at random from one of the articles before us—is a specimen:

"The Company, with its unblemished record of twenty-six years, its unexceptionable assets, with, at existing valuations, nearly five millions of dollars; its clear net *surplus* of $849,426; its *unshaken and unshakeable hold upon public confidence;* its superb board of directors, comprising some of the best and foremost business men in this city; does not intend to yield to their demand, and will not pay tribute to prevent assaults."—*Independent*, Nov. 23d.

The italics are our own. We will not stop to enlarge upon the remarkably authoritative tone of this assertion, which sounds as if it emanated, if not from the directors of the Company themselves, at least from some person intimate in their counsels; and we will simply invite our readers to turn to the report of the Company, as published in the early part of the present year, and compare it with the allegations in the foregoing extract. In the first place, its admitted assets are returned at $4,631,168.47, or nearly four hundred thousand dollars short of the five millions claimed for it. Allowance may perhaps here be made for speaking in round numbers; but what are we to think when we find that the surplus, instead of $849,426, is $493,882.58, or not much more than half the amount? This is, moreover, the surplus as to policy-holders, and includes the paid-up capital of $250,000. Of these assets $179,033.07 are "premium notes or loans on policies in force;" $342.17 "cash in office;" $249,868.55 "cash deposited in bank;" $55,812.33 "interest due and accrued;" $118,669.52 "net amount of uncollected and deferred premiums": in all $623,725.64 of uncertain, shifting and very portable assets, exceeding the nominal surplus by the sum of $129,893.06. With such a record we cannot feel greatly surprised that policy-holders, and still more stockholders, as to whom the capital forms no part of the surplus, should feel uneasy and desire to investigate the affairs of the Company legally.

When the year presents such a record of disastrous failures and discreditable charges against companies occupying conspicuous stations, it is well to look over the general character of the securities in which our insurance companies habitually invest their property. The character of some of these securities we have already, from time to time, investigated; but

there are others which, though unexceptionable in themselves, require as careful an inspection, since it has become evident that they are not unfrequently made as much the subject of over-valuation and misrepresentation as those of a more questionable nature.

For example, no investment would at the first glance appear safer than real estate, although the frightful depression in the values of all landed property within the last five years has opened the eyes of the public to the fact that even this form of investment is not without its perils. Still, when we see a company return a certain amount of real estate at a definite valuation, we are generally inclined to consider that portion of its property well secured, can we believe the real estate to hold, at the present period of depression, the full value at which it is returned. But how often, let us ask, is this the case? How often rather do not these returns represent the value of this real property at the period of its highest inflation? perhaps augmented by the amount of money laid out on the construction and decoration of buildings which cannot be expected to realize half of their cost if thrown upon the market? When we see companies like the Equitable, the Mutual, the New York and the United States expending their moneys in the erection of enormous structures in this and other cities, of which the principal portion is devoted to the transaction of their own business and cannot bring in any pecuniary return for the benefit of policy-holders; when we see them lavish extravagant sums on the mere decoration, painting, gilding and otherwise embellishing their would-be palaces; and when, in conclusion, we see all this outlay (with perhaps interest added) included in the estimate of the value of the property—as was, we are informed, the case with a certain notorious New Haven company—we cannot but feel that real estate is an investment which requires to be carefully investigated, and the amount returned to be received with considerable allowance.

The same may be predicated of the investments in Bond and Mortgage. Did all insurance companies adhere to their nominal principle of loaning their moneys only on property thrice the value of the amount invested, and regularly collecting the interest on such loans as it becomes due, it would be impossible to deny that this would be the safest kind of investment. But we know that certain revelations made within the last year indicate a state of affairs entirely different. These mortgages are too often given by stockholders themselves on property on which they place their own valuation, and which they give in place of money for the purpose of making up the capital requisite to start business. In some instances we know these mortgages are given with the understanding that they shall not be called in, and that no interest shall be required from the mortgagers, at least while they continue to be stockholders and owners of the mortgaged property. This leads us to mention a third class of assets which we see extensively returned in insurance reports—namely, "interest due and accrued," or, as it is sometimes more conscientiously stated, "interest accrued but not due."

We have already frequently called attention to the impropriety of admitting this class of claims as assets in any event, being merely an amount *due* the company—perhaps not yet due—and forming no part of the actual available funds which are ready to be applied to the payment of policies and other debts. When we remark the enormous figures at which this accrued interest is stated—in the case of the Mutual exceeding one million of dollars, or one-third of its net surplus;* in that of the Connecticut Mutual to over sixteen hundren thousand dollars, or nearly one-half its nominal surplus, and equivalent to six months' interest on the gross amount of its loans; in that of the New York, to two hundred and forty-eight thousand dollars, and in that of the Equitable, to nearly two hundred and ten thousand —we realize that a large portion of these Companies' assets consists in a security intangible at the best. But when we consider that in some instances—in the recent exposure of the affairs of the Penn Fire, this fact was established—this item represents a claim not only not collected, but never intended to be collected, we cannot but feel that we have here an item which may be and sometimes is nothing better than a fraud. In the face of this revelation, it is clear that "interest due and accrued" is an item which requires to be thoroughly scrutinized; and when we find that this amount steadily increases in the annual returns of any company, we have good ground for suspicion that the item means nothing except "interest due and intended to remain due," in which light it should hereafter be viewed. We are not prepared to say that the same may be assumed of another favorite class of item—namely, "premiums deferred," and "premiums in course of collection," as we have hitherto met with no disclosures on that subject to justify such an assumption. But it is still open to the general objection of intangibility and uncertainty—being a debt not yet collected, representing no actual funds, and part at least of which will in all probability never be collected, so at least we may infer from the number of policies which lapse annually for non-payment of premiums. We have already indicated the immense proportion which this item bears in the surplus assets of the Mutual Life. We may add that in the returns of the New York Life, this item amounts to upward of half a million; in that of the Equitable Life, to over seven hundred thousand dollars; in that of the United States Life, to over one hundred thousand, or one-fifth of its nominal surplus; and in that of the Washington Life, to over two hundred thousand, or more than one-third of its surplus; in the American Popular, to over one hundred and eighty thousand, or two thousand in excess of its surplus;† in the Germania, to three hundred thousand, or three-fourths of its surplus, the remaining fourth being represented by "interest due and accrued"; and in the Metropolitan

* Nearly another million of this surplus is represented by "premiums deferred," a species of uncollected debt to which we have often had occasion to allude.

† That is, its surplus as to policy-holders; as to stockholders it has no surplus but an actual impairment of capital.

Life, to over three hundred thousand dollars, or nearly tenfold its surplus. This, we would remark, is a species of assets to which the fire companies appear to be particularly partial. If the amounts are not so large, it is because these companies do not indulge generally in as large figures; but the proportion is, if possible, larger. The Arctic, for instance, has nearly seven thousand dollars in this shape, while its entire surplus does not greatly exceed ten thousand. The Adriatic, has twenty-two thousand out of a surplus of thirty-three; while the Brewers and Malters, returns thirty-one thousand and upwards, while its nominal surplus is inside of twenty-five thousand; in this case the entire surplus is absorbed in this simple item. The Commercial, returns uncollected premiums to the amount of $74,587.60, and the Continental Fire, to the amount of $146,584.85 (!) This Company, we may remark, has the very significant item "interest *accrued* on bond and mortgage loans, $15,223.75." This *accrued* interest does not appear to be *due*, as we find a separate item of $262.50 for "interest due and unpaid on mortgage loans." Does not this at least suggest the idea of a management somewhat similar to that of the Penn? We find the same distinction made in the returns of several other companies. We may instance the Gebhard, whose "interest due and unpaid" is returned at $1,582.87, its interest accrued (and we may infer not due) at $589.12, and its uncollected premiums at $2,733.70—in all $4,905.69, which, considering that the surplus is returned at only $3,825.78, may be considered a pretty large sum. The Guarantee, however, makes a far more brilliant figure, as its uncollected premiums amount to $23,600.96, while its surplus is only $1,631.83. The Home Fire, has $291,728.91 premiums uncollected (!), and the Niagara, $116,512.00. We might proceed further with our enumeration, but enough has been said to show the extent to which a mere uncollected debt, and of doubtful collectability, is made to figure as a substantial asset in the returns of many of our companies.

Of the dangerous though plausible item, "premium notes and loans on policies in force," we have already spoken at large in previous numbers, and need only refer to it to warn our readers against companies in which this item bears a large proportion to the other assets returned, whether, as in the case of the Connecticut Mutual Life, it exceeds the surplus by nearly three millions,* or whether, as in that of the Home Life of Brooklyn, the excess is not much over half a million.

The item of "cash," whether in principal office or in bank, has in like manner been sufficiently discussed and its dangers pointed out, both on account of its unreliability and its exceedingly portative character. But a little investigation requires to be given to the item of "loans on collateral security." Nothing of course is objected to loans of this character, where the security is in itself good and sufficient. But there are many such re-

* The "premium notes and loans on policies in force" of the Connecticut Mutual Life, are returned at $6,730,567.50; it surplus at $3,927,046.07.

turned where the security is so small in amount and of so very doubtful value as to be in fact no security at all, and whose existence can be accounted for only by supposing them to be an indirect method for putting the funds of the company into the pockets of the officers. How, for instance, are we to understand a loan by the American Popular Life, of $713.63 on a mortgage whose market value is estimated at $900? or a loan by the same Company of $25,800 on thirty-two shares of stock in the United States Publishing Company, whose market value, which in all probability means its *par* value, is returned at $32,000? The Globe again has loaned $73.123.70 on Long Island City Shore Railroad bonds, whose *market* value is represented in the return to be $100,000. Has any one ever seen these bonds on any of the stock lists? Or can this be understood to mean anything more than that these bonds are for the amount of $100,000 *on their face?* Of the real value of too many railroad bonds we have had of late some terrible examples. This Company, moreover, seems addicted to loans on the stock of other companies. It has loaned five thousand dollars on stock of the Metropolitan Fire, whose *status* we had occasion to investigate in our last two numbers, and the market value of whose stock appears from the report to be only twenty dollars per share; and over seventeen thousand dollars in stock of the Home Fire, of whose assets, as we have seen "uncollected and deferred premiums" form an important item, $241,728.91; "cash in bank," $242,894.09; "interest due and accrued," $54,347.29; "interest on collateral bonds," $5,789.92; and "loans on stock collaterals" themselves, $480,750; an array of items the total of which considerably exceeds its reported surplus of $899,722.62. These collateral securities include $5,000 on Georgia bonds, whose par value is only $6,500: $6,950 on United States Life stock, whose par value was only equal to the amount of the loan; and about forty thousand dollars on scrip of the Atlantic Mutual, which is actually below par. These loans on stock collaterals appear to be a favorite investment with fire companies, and in some instances the amounts come very suspiciouly close to the market value of the collateral. The Globe Fire, for instance, has loaned $4,000 on stocks whose *market* value is only $4,800 and is considerably below par. The Hamilton Fire, has loaned $12,000 on stock worth only $14,000, also below par. The Importers and Traders, has $15,000 on stock worth only $16,000, below par of course, and $1,000 on stock valued at $1,180; in this case they have loaned the full par value of the stock. The New York Fire has made one loan of exactly the market value of the stock, which—a noticeable fact—is returned as identical with its par value. The Niagara, has loaned $45,488 on Chesapeake and Ohio bonds whose market value is returned at $50,000, which in this case appears to be less than five-twelfths of the par value. On such loans as these comment is unnecessary. These loans appear particularly objectionable when made on the stock of other insurance companies, as in the case of the Safeguard, which loans $14,000

on stock of the United States Life whose *par* value was only $12,700. The present position of the United States Life is sufficient commentary on such an investment. The Williamsburg City Fire, has $2,727 loaned on stock of the Southside Railroad of Long Island, whose market value is estimated at $3,000, or less than half its par value. What security is there in such a loan?

It is a painful task to go through these different classes of investments, and show in how many instances even the best of them have been made the cover for inaccurate or exaggerated returns, which represent either no real security or a security altogether insufficient for the protection of the policy-holders. Enough however has been said to show that in no case is the mere return of a company to be relied upon as an indication of its actual condition; and that every investment, or class of investments, requires to be separately examined and its genuineness ascertained by such tests as are fortunately within the reach of every one. That there are companies which will stand such tests there is no one who can doubt,* and in a future number we promise ourselves the more agreeable task of calling the public attention to such of these as have best merited confidence, and indicating where policy-holders may consider themselves secure from the evils inseparable from manipulated returns and dishonest or imprudent investments.†

It would appear, however, that this method of investigating is not encouraged by some of our prominent companies. We have at present before us a letter addressed by Mr. James L. Anthony, a policy-holder in the Equitable Life (published in the *Times* of Dec. 21), from which it appears that the writer, holder of a policy for $26,510, on which he has paid in premiums nearly $5,000 in cash, and is paying annually the sum of $555, has been steadily refused all information as to the investments of the Company, and their value, and has been informed virtually that the Society managed its affairs to suit its stockholders. It would seem almost incredible that an association, feeling well assured of its own solvency, should hesitate for a moment to allow the policy-holders, out of whose premiums its alleged vast assets are mainly derived, and who are entitled in the first instance to the benefit of its investments, to know the security of the investments in which their money is lodged. It is true that they have the annual report; but after all what reliable assurance does that report alone

* We may instance the New England Mutual, the New Jersey Mutual, the Mutual Benefit of Newark, the American of Philadelphia, and the Manhattan Life of New York.

† Since the present article was commenced, we have seen with concern that another name is threatened to be added to the list of unfortunate companies. We allude to the proposed application to wind up the affairs of the Security Life Company. Should this application prove to be well founded, we know of no company whose misfortunes could be more generally lamented; for few companies have longer and more deservedly enjoyed the confidence of the public. In this case, as in the case of the United States, it would be premature to form any positive judgment until the result of the proposed proceedings shall have shown the actual state of affairs.

confer? Who is to judge whether the $17,085,951.88, alleged to be invested in bond and mortgage, is really secured by property of adequate value? Who is to tell whether the $5,030,484.55 returned as the value of the real estate, be really represented by that real estate at present prices and in the present state of depression? especially when we are informed that an action has been commenced against this Company by some of its policy-holders on the express ground that it has squandered a disproportionate share of its funds—or, we should rather say, the funds of its policy-holders—on the very structures in this and other cities, which form no small part. of this very real estate. Who shall say what is the real worth of the stocks and bonds which it returns at such an enormous figure; or how many of these very stocks and bonds are at present the property of the Company? Who is to determine the actual amount of the "commuted commissions," "cash on hand, in banks and other depositories," (a singularly vague description,) "balance of asset's accounts," "interest due and accrued," "premiums due and in transit," and "deferred premiums"? Of course, were policy-holders allowed to inspect the books, and otherwise investigate the affairs of the Company, these questions might all be answered more or less satisfactorily; but the position which the Company has taken prohibits all investigation; and the policy-holders have actually no means of information as to the security of their investments beyond the Superintendent's annual report. Of what value that report is, recent events have shown but too plainly.

It remains only to note such of the incidents of the last few months as may be of importance in their bearing on the history of insurance. One of the most noteworthy of these is the recent decision in the case of Stratham against The New York Life Insurance Company, and Seymes against the same. These were actions on policies which were granted on the lives of parties residing in Mississippi, the premiums on which had been regularly paid until the breaking out of the war in 1861, when, by reason thereof, they ceased to be paid. The non-payment of the premiums was set up in bar of the action, and the plaintiffs respectively relied on the existence of the war as an excuse, offering to deduct the premiums in arrears from the amounts of the policies. The decision was to the effect that a policy of life assurance is not an insurance from year to year, like a common fire policy; but the premiums constitute an annuity the whole of which is the consideration for the entire assurance for life; that the time of payment in such policies is material and of the essence of the contract, and failure to pay involves an absolute forfeiture, which cannot be relieved against in equity; but that in cases where non-payment of the policy is occasioned by the existence of war between the territories in which the assurers and the assured respectively reside, the assured is entitled to the equitable value of the policy arising from the premiums actually paid; and that this equitable value is the difference between the cost of a new policy and the present value of the premiums yet to be paid on the forfeited policy when the forfeiture occurred.

The justice and equity of the decision cannot fail to impress every disinterested party; and this being a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, will, it is to be hoped, put an end to the hitherto interminable litigation of the questions arising from the late unhappy rebellion.

Less creditable to the Company was the defence made by the American Popular Life, in the suit of A. H. Butler, brought on a policy taken out by the late Dr. Samuel W. Butler, of Philadelphia. Dr. Butler was the proprietor of the *Medical and Surgical Journal* of Philadelphia, and had made an arrangement with the Company to insert its advertisement in his journal in part payment of premiums. In September, 1871, a settlement was made for the premium to that time. In July, 1872, Dr. Butler sent the Company a cheque for $66.15 to pay the semi-annual premium to become due on the 18th of that month. The Company retained the money, but, *instead of applying it as directed, placed it to the credit of a balance which they claimed to be due for the preceding year.* Tender was made just before July 18th, 1873, of the premiums then to become due, but the Company declined to receive the money, *claiming that the policies had become forfeited for non-payment of premiums.* Dr. Butler died soon afterward. We are glad to see that Judge Sedgwick directed a verdict for the plaintiff for $2,100, holding that the Company had no right to divert to other purposes the cheque sent in July, 1872, for the payment of premiums coming due at that time, and that the acceptance of the cheque paid such premiums and waived any previous default.*

It is highly creditable to the State of Massachusetts that by express statute it applies the principle established by the Supreme Court of the United States, in the cases of Stratham and Seymes, to all cases of failure to pay premiums when due, and applies in every case a certain percentage of the present value of the policy as a single premium to extend the insurance over an ascertainable period. A recent decision, in the case of Morris *v.* The Penn Mutual Life, has established the principle that this Act applies to *all* companies doing business in that State, even when chartered by other States. We cannot but feel that where such a law exists the holders of policies enjoy an especial security, and that this law confers an additional element of safety—were such additional element needed—on the policy-holders of the New England Mutual Life.

The principal event in Fire Insurance circles is the extraordinary *lavolte*

* A recent case in which the American Popular Life was defendant places in a yet stronger light the devices to which certain companies resort to avoid payment of their policies. The plaintiff, Anne L. Neill, sued on a policy of $5,000, taken out on the life of her deceased husband. The Company defended the action on the ground of a discrepancy of *one year* in the age of the deceased, given in his application for insurance, as compared with the statement of his age given on the proof of his death. The son of the insured, who put in the proof of death, testified that he must have made a mistake. No wonder that the papers characterize this as "a flimsy defence." Judge Freedman evidently thought it such when he directed a verdict for the full amount claimed and interest.

of the National Board of Fire Underwriters, on the subject of rates. If there be any quality for which the Board has ever been remarkable, it has been for unflinching determination to allow no reduction of rates beyond a certain standard which it has established. Company after company has dropped out or been expelled because they insured risks at lower rates than the Board permitted; and these companies have been made the theme of the severest denunciation for "undercutting," as it was contemptuously styled, the rates of the National Board. And now, without assigning any reason, the Board itself not only reduces its standard of rates, but adopts a new rule which leaves the question of rates very much to the judgment of each individual company. What does this mean? The principle on which the Board has hitherto professed to act was that it has ascertained by actual computation the lowest scale of rates consistent with the safety of policy-holders. Has any unprecedented change in the state of affairs rendered cheap insurance safer and more profitable than it was a few months ago? or is it the fact that the Board have hitherto been endeavoring to keep up a scale of rates which was *not* the lowest consistent with the safety of the policy-holders? in other words, to keep up the price by combination, after the fashion of dealers in manufactured goods? The question will suggest itself under these circumstances, "What has the National Board accomplished?" and "For what purpose does it exist?" These questions we may hope to have the means of answering in a forthcoming number.

Echoes from Article on "Puffing Element in Higher Education," in last (September) Number.

"What in it (the Review) will attract the most attention is the paper on the Puffing Element in Our Higher Education. * * Evidently this publication [the United States School and College Directory] is a mere advertising sheet, and thoroughly illiterate, as such so often are. * * That there is a vast amount of ignorant puffing in regard to education and every thing else in this country is not likely to be denied, though it is worth pointing out, but it is no proof of the worthlessness of a school, for instance, if it is spoken well of by an idiot." * *—*Hartford Courant.*

* * "This article is followed, probably by way of relief, by an amusing criticism, entitled "The Puffing element in our Higher Education," upon an octavo volume, "The United States School and College Directory for 1875," in which almost every separate institution, large or small, good or middling, receives a great deal of high-flown eulogy. The compiler or editor of this Directory, it is shown here by numerous quotations from his work, has a fine contempt for the rules of syntax.—*Philadelphia Press.*

* * "We confess that, until we read the really able article in Sears' Review, we had no idea of the thinness of the intellectual strata that underlie the surface of the minds of our famed educators. The extracts furnished from the prospectuses of the various colleges and schools mentioned in the "Directory" are sufficient to convince any sane man of the extremes to which humanity's self-conceit and vanity may advance. * * Daily experience goes far towards confirming the truth of these terse, sarcastic reflections. * * We thank Dr. Sears for the really able manner in which he has presented this subject. We will welcome him should he ever stroll this way, and, although it be our lot to be one of those institutions that are "located" in Western New York, we trust that this circumstance may be no barrier to our progress. And should our respected friend choose to indite us a Latin epistle, we can guarantee that he will receive, in return, one, equally as classic in style, as affectionate in terms, and as correct in grammar, as are those with which, in one or two places (in the Review before us) he regales his readers.—*Niagara Index* (Catholic College Semi-Monthly.)

* * "To all those who wish to follow the course of modern criticism, and examine some of the most prominent results of modern thought and experience by the aid of skilled analysis, the National Review, under the able and progressive editorship of Dr. Sears, appears as a safe and pleasant guide. * * 'The puffing Element in Our Higher Education' makes out a strong case." * *—*Boston Post.*

"In Article IV the reader will find a special tid-bit, which he had better, like the schoolboy, reserve for the last. If he has the smallest particle of humor in his composition, the writer's dissection of 'The United States School and College Directory for 1875 must make him laugh. The entire article presents as good a bit of humor as we have had for a long time. Take the following as a trifling example." * *—*Chicago Inter-Ocean.*

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To Contributors.

N. B.—All articles should be received at least a month before the month of publication. Contributions from all parts are equally welcome: they will be accepted or rejected solely according to their merits or demerits, their suitableness or unsuitableness.

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☞ The maximum Postage on each number of the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW to the principal countries of Europe is as follows: to England, Ireland, or Scotland, 30 cents; to France, 20 cents; to any of the German States, 30 cents; to Belgium or Holland, 40 cents; to Italy or Switzerland, 50 cents. The subscription to any of these countries is in proportion to the postage—the amount WITHOUT POSTAGE being $5 a year, payable in advance.

N. B.—Postage having to be paid in advance to New York City subscribers, the city subscription is $5.25.

The price of each back number, published two years or more, is $1.50.

☞ **Those subscribing directly—not through Agents—would oblige the Editor by letting him know when any number to which they are entitled fails to reach them.**

SEARS & COLE, Printers, 51 and 53 Maiden Lane, New York.

THE

NATIONAL

QUARTERLY REVIEW.

FOUNDED BY EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

EDITED BY

DAVID A. GORTON, M. D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

VOL. XXXIV. No. LXVIII. MARCH, 1877.

NEW YORK:
DAVID A. GORTON & CO., Publishers,
291 BROADWAY.

GENERAL AGENTS: AMERICAN NEWS COMPANY, NEW YORK.
WESTERN NEWS COMPANY, CHICAGO.
PHILADELPHIA: CENTRAL NEWS CO.—BOSTON: NEW ENGLAND NEWS CO.
LONDON: TRÜBNER & CO., 60 PATERNOSTER ROW.
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Howe Machine Co. (estimated),	"	25,000	"
Weed Sewing Machine Co.,	"	21,993	"
Domestic Sewing Machine Co.,	"	21,452	"
Grover & Baker S. M. Co. (estimated),	"	15,000	"
Wilcox & Gibbs Sewing Machine Co.,	"	14,522	"
American B. H., &c., Sew'g Machine Co.,	"	14,406	"
Gold Medal Sewing Machine Co.,	"	14,262	"
Wilson Sewing Machine Co.,	"	9,508	"
Victor Sewing Machine Co.,	"	6,103	"
Florence Sewing Machine Co.,	"	4,892	"
J. E. Braunsdorf & Co., (Ætna),	"	1,447	"
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McKay S. M. Ass'n,	"	161	"

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THE
NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. LXVIII.

MARCH, 1877.

ART. I.—1. *Essays Literary, Biographical and Critical.* NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW. Edited by EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D. New York. 33 vols. June, 1860, to September, 1876.

"*Vita enim mortuorum in memoriâ vivorum est posita.*"—CICERO.

THE duty of the living to the dead ends not with the reading of the burial service and consigning the remains to the tomb. These things, however reverently performed, are but preliminary to a still larger duty, that of keeping the memory of the dead green, and preserving the fruits of their labors, that the good they have done die not with them. It is in accordance with the divine fitness of things that the dead should live in the memory of the living.

There is no life, howsoever humble and commonplace it may have been, that does not afford valuable lessons to the living,—to those who have the ability to observe and interpret them for themselves. But the extremes of character in either direction—good or bad—are more useful to the race, of course. The lessons they teach are easier learned and longer remembered. And we have sometimes been in doubt as to which is of the most value to mankind, the biography of the very bad man or that of the very good. The life

of one may be likened to that of a bold explorer in wild and dangerous regions;—to a mariner on an unknown and perilous sea, pointing out to others the shoals on which he himself was wrecked. On the other hand, the lives of the very good and great demonstrate the sequences of goodness and virtue. Whatever be their position, they are like the fixed stars in the heavens, mitigating the darkness and guiding the humble plodder in his devious and difficult course. If the evil men do live after them, the good they do is the source of blessings perennial and eternal.

In the present instance we have a life to deal with of a mixed character; weak in some directions, strong in others, bad in none. Those who knew Dr. Sears best do not claim for him distinguished piety. He was well disposed and helpful to his fellows; but he could denounce, even swear, on suitable occasions. Judged from a religious point of view, his character was neutral, neither good nor bad. In many respects he possessed eminent virtues; in some, striking faults; in all, remarkable ability. He escaped the imputation of hypocrisy by at once disclaiming the saintly character. While leaving religion, rightly or wrongly, to those whose business it is to cultivate it, he devoted himself with what energy he could command to the work which he rightly conceived to be his. "It is not for me," he used to say, "to judge between the sects. I am content to leave theology to the theologians." Nor did he welcome to his pages articles denunciatory of one or derogatory of the other. But we must not anticipate our subject.

Few events in Dr. Sears' early life are of general interest, and they can all be condensed in two or three paragraphs. He was born in 1820, in the County of Mayo, Ireland. His father and mother were natives of Ireland, both of respectable antecedents, and sufficiently well-to-do to give their children, consisting of a daughter and three sons, a good education. Only one of them, however, availed himself of the advantage, and he was the subject of this sketch. The other sons preferred to follow the example set by sons of the gentry and spend their time and substance in following the hounds, according to the custom of that time—a custom, unhappily, by no means

obsolete to-day among the affluent classes of the mother country.

We would not convey the impression that young Edward avoided the chase and the alluring sports of hunting and fishing. These pastimes had an evident fascination for him, a fascination which he could neither resist nor overcome. It was a family weakness bred in the blood. His vacations from school were passed and enjoyed in that way; as were also his hours of leisure in later life. Indeed, he was never without his hunting outfit and equestrian habit. The saddle was ever his resource for rest and rejuvenation after hours of mental toil, down to within a few weeks of his decease, when the disease which was slowly invading his system rendered it no longer enjoyable. The custom, however, was to him a means, not an end. He resorted to the saddle and the chase as a healthful stimulus and an adjuvant of work,—neither to kill time nor for the sake of the animal pleasure which they gave him. And in this respect he was wise beyond the average of those whose opportunities were equally favorable, few of us being able to resist the demoralizing influences of idle pleasures.

While yet in his teens the boy Sears was prepared for college, and soon after attaining his majority was graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, standing well in his class. We next hear of him in his native county editing a paper; later, writing essays for the English Quarterlies, notably the *Westminster* and *Edinburgh Reviews;* later, of having committed the usual folly of inexperienced youth, that of falling in love. The young lady was of good family, of great amiability and native refinement, Catherine Irvine, by name, whom he subsequently married. And still later we hear of his leaving Ireland to seek his fortune in the young Republic of the West —America.

In 1848, young Sears arrived in New York. He was then about twenty-eight years of age, strong, healthy and ambitious. He at once applied for, and obtained a position on the New York *Herald*, then in full tide of prosperity under the elder Bennett. Subsequently he wrote for the *Times*, enjoying the confidence and friendship of Mr. Raymond, after Mr. Greeley,

the ablest editor known in the history of American journalism. He contributed also to the columns of some of the Boston dailies at the same time, notably the Boston *Post*. Nor did this employment exhaust the energy of his facile pen. He contributed heavy essays on current topics to the American and English Quarterlies; and though generally on the unpopular side, he nevertheless discussed the subjects in hand with such force, breadth and grace, as to extort complimentary notices from the critics, and win for himself a creditable place in the biographies of eminent men. We well remember an essay he wrote, nearly twenty years ago, on the Sepoy Rebellion. Its scathing denunciation of the British government for the unparalleled brutality inflicted on the vanquished rebel soldiery by its agents still rings in our ears. That essay justly excited much attention in Europe and America, and was very generally commented upon by the foreign press. We cite a brief paragraph from *La Revue Contemporaine*, 2e série, tome 4e, p. 482. Paris:

"Cest un vigoureux exposé des griefs des populations indoues contre leurs oppresseurs; une véhémente revendication des droits les plus élémentaires et les plus sacrés de l'humanité cruellement et hypocritement foulés aux pieds par le vainqueur; c'est, en un mot, la justification très catégorique du soulèvement des Cypayes. * * Le *reviewer* américain a un grand soin de s'appuyer à chaque page sur des documents anglais. Quand il en vient à parler de la répression de la révolte et des flots de sang froidement versés par la soldatesque anglaise, tous ses sentiments d'homme civilisé se soulèvent, et il stigmatise ces excès avec une énergie que nous parviendrions difficilement à reproduire. L'ironie vient parfois se mêler à la véhémence, et les triomphants bulletins des innombrables victoires remportées par les forces britanniques ne trouvent pas de grâce devant l'inflexible critique."

If he were actuated in that essay by a sentiment of hostility toward England, we think he was excusable. One should remember that Dr. Sears was an Irishman. And what kind of an Irishman, pray, must he be who could love England?

Several years pass away during which time our young literary aspirant continued to maintain himself and his young wife, in a creditable manner, with the pen. His industry was indefatigable. His purpose single and unswerving. The style of his compositions was sometimes light and gossiping; at other

times heavy and scholarly; never strained and grandiloquent. The subjects which he discussed ranged all the way from the philosophy of Epicurus to a plan for the construction of a suspension bridge between Brooklyn and New York.* There was immense capacity in the man for work. He had arrived at that age, which comes sooner or later to all strong natures, when he must do something worthy of his genius. And he strongly felt the incubus of the circumstances which confined the exercise of his powers to a sphere which he could not but regard beneath him. Strong, active natures are familiar with the mental sufferings of Dr. Sears at this critical period of his life. Dickens was evidently no stranger to it in his early career; neither was Thackeray, nor Franklin, Dean Swift, Columbus, nor Galileo. A man need not be a genius to comprehend the situation. And if any individual in the world is an object of commiseration, it is he, or she, who, conscious of great abilities, is compelled to repress them and remain in obscure idleness for the want of an opportunity to give them exercise. An individual thus circumstanced may be likened to a steam-engine off the track, or a steamer aground. We imagine it has been the melancholy cause of countless human wrecks; for a man of genius either does something worthy of himself, or something unworthy of himself; either becomes famous or infamous. The history of the race affords melancholy examples of the fact.

At this period in Dr. Sears' career, or to be more precise, in 1860, he conceived the project of establishing a Quarterly periodical, which should be to America what the *Edinburgh Review* is to Scotland, or the *London Quarterly*, to England—a Review that should embody and symbolize the scholarship of the nation. In his view there was no periodical in the United States that exactly fulfilled this idea. We do not forget that

* "In a communication to *the New York Times*, about twenty years ago, Dr. Sears advocated the feasibility of bridging the East river. Mr. Raymond regarded the project as fanciful and altogether impracticable. Nevertheless, he gave the plan proposed by Dr. Sears a place in the *Times*; and it was a source of great satisfaction to Dr. Sears to live to see the soundness of his opinion practically verified."

the *North American Review* was then in the full tide of prosperity. But that periodical was Bostonian, rather than national; and, although able and scholarly, it did not sustain the critical character requisite in a thorough Review. Accordingly, the project of establishing one that should come up to his ideal of a Review grew in force with the contemplation of it, until finally in 1860, it took on definite form and proportions. While his Review should be thoroughly national in character, his purpose was to make it a symbol of scholarship, and a power for civilization. The title he gave it was THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

The following is an exact copy of the first prospectus issued by him announcing his purpose and the character of the work:

PROSPECTUS.

Librarians, Bookſellers, Superintendents of Collegiate and Educational Inſtitutions, and the literary public in general, are reſpectfully informed that the underſigned will iſsue, on the firſt of June next, a Literary and Critical Journal, containing over 260 pages royal octavo, entitled

THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW,

EDITED BY EDWARD I. SEARS, A. B.

The new Periodical will not be the organ of any clique or party. It will know no such distinction as North and South, except as indicating integral parts of our common country; in short, it will be American in the broadest, and most legitimate acceptation of the term.

Although devoted mainly to Literature, Art, Education and general Culture, it will contain occasional articles on the prominent political questions of the day.

While giving due prominence to American Literature, it is our intention that no foreign work of decided merit and value, whether French, German, Italian, Spanish, &c., will be overlooked. The best will be examined in the original; and such new facts or interesting theories as they may be found to contain, will be brought under review, and discussed in a liberal, cosmopolitan spirit.

Reviews of remarkable works on Christianity, by writers of different religious denominations, will be admissible.

Educational publications will receive careful attention, especially Greek and Latin Text Books. From thirty to forty pages will be devoted to brief critical notices of new books, translations, &c. A list, containing the full titles of all publications received during the quarter, will be given at the end of each number. In a word, nothing will be omitted, which ought to be expected in a critical journal of the first class. No pains nor expense will be spared to render it in fact, as well as in name, THE NATIONAL QUARTERLY of the United States.

It will be observed that Dr. Sears' academic degree at that time was A.B. The degree of LL.D. was an honor conferred on him by the University of New York at a later day, or in 1864.

The *National Quarterly Review* was issued promptly on time, as announced, June, 1860; and the friendly reception it met with on both sides of the Atlantic must have been a source of supreme delight to its "editor and chief contributor." There was some hostile criticism, of course, chiefly, however, from envious sources, and authors and publishers who suffered from his criticisms. Of the articles in this, the first number of the *Review*, three were by the editor, viz.: Dante, The Modern French Drama, The Nineteenth Century; one by the venerable Mrs. A. Lincoln Phelps (Baltimore, Md.), Glances at the Fine Arts; one by Thomas D. Pendergast, LL.D. (England), Italy, Past and Present; one by Prof. Henry Dennison (Glasgow, Scotland), The Works of Charles Dickens; and one by Prof. Max. G. Lloyd (Boston, Mass.), The Poems of Elizabeth Barrett Browning. The author of the one remaining article in the number, Godwin's History of France, is unknown to us. The rest of its pages, nearly a hundred in number—for the *Review* was larger then than now—were devoted to "Book Notices and Criticisms," all of which appear to be have been written by our versatile editor himself.

But even the Herculean labor of the *National Quarterly Review* did not exhaust the extraordinary energy of Dr. Sears. Soon after its establishment, or in 1862, he accepted a position to teach the ancient classics in Manhattan College, New York. This post he filled for several years with perfect satisfaction

to the Christian Brothers everywhere, and with signal credit to himself, resigning in 1866 to devote himself more exclusively to the *Review*. His connection with Manhattan College, quality as a teacher, etc., will be sketched in these pages by a hand abler than ours. We will, therefore, confine our observations to other topics.

The success of the *Review* abundantly justified the inspiration by which it was conceived, and the genius which gave it form and substance. We do not refer in this remark to the success which can be estimated in dollars and cents—though in that sense it has never been a failure—but to that higher success, the purely literary success—mental. Dr. Sears' ideal of what a *Review* should be was high. While he did not undervalue purity of style and grace in expression; while he was an eminent conservator of pure speech, the matter which was embodied and took on form in speech was of equal consequence in his judgment. Nonsense expressed in rounded periods and fine phrases was unutterably abhorent to him. The *Review* should not be a moral placebo, polishing errors that they might be swallowed more easily. Rather should it be an educator, uprooting evil and preparing the mental soil for a healthier and fruitfuller harvest. The harrow and the roller are both useful implements in husbandry, but the plough and stump extractor take precedence. The turf needs to be broken up and the rank undergrowth destroyed ere the soil is ready for the finer implements of cultivation. So it is in the mental soil. It is the purpose of a *Review*, worthy the name, to plough deep, even at the risk of uprooting some vulgar prejudices concealed beneath a fine exterior, otherwise no permanent basis is achieved on which civilization can securely rest. The condition of European society, of society in Ireland, England, Scotland, France, Germany, and especially in Italy and Spain, and the state of literature in each, with which Dr. Sears was conversant, gave peculiar force to this simile, and doubtless had no small influence in fitting him for the vigorous reviewer he was. And we cannot but feel the contempt which he did for fine words over deep wrongs; mild-mannered dissent where violent protest was demanded; a courteous

demeanor instead of strong denunciation towards respectable knaves and swindlers, lest the purity of the English idiom be offended against! There is such a thing as effete respectability, and this is the form it usually assumes. Better were it that literature, pure speech and respectability go to the bottomless pit together than that they should be the nurse of rottenness or made a cloak to conceal the wrongs againt humanity!

We have said the *National Quarterly Review* was a success. It was preëminently successful at the outset, during the sixteen years of its publication, and is so still, if the welcome given it by the scholars and critics in all parts of the civilized world be a just criterion on which to base an opinion. We subjoin a little of this evidence of its success from a whole volume of it in our possession:

It certainly exhibits high culture and marked ability.—*London Saturday Review.*

It is at once the most learned, most brilliant, and most attractive of all their (the American) periodicals.—*London Spectator.*

More than a year ago we ranked it with the best of our own Quarterlies, and it certainly has not lagged since in ability or vigor.—*London Daily News.*

It is creditable to our transatlantic friends to sustain a journal which, like the "National Quarterly Review," possesses the courage to unmask false pretentions, and both the ability and disposition to improve the public taste.—*Edinburgh Scotsman.*

It is altogether a valuable journal, breathing a cosmopolitan spirit, and should receive encouragement in this province.—*Toronto Leader.*

Il (the editor) mérite l'estime de nos savans par d'importants travaux comme critique sur la haute éducation, aussi bien que la littérature.—*Indépendance Belge, Brussels.*

La clarté, l'ordre, la précision du style; ce que les Anglais appellent *humour*, et parfois l'ironie, sont les qualités qui distinguent le *National Quarterly Review* au-dessus de tout autre journal littéraire Américan.—*Le Pays, Paris.*

Its articles are of the first order for vigor, comprehensiveness, and ability. Its criticisms are keen, good tempered, and fearless. Literary charlatanism gets no mercy.—*National Intelligencer.*

We have been much interested in witnessing the steady advance of this

periodical. It combines great learning with vigor of style and fearless utterance.—*Boston Journal.*

The Review continues to maintain its fearless method of treatment and its broad catholic views.—*Boston Post.*

This is the ablest Quarterly in the country. It is conservative, but not partisan, scholarly, but not pedantic, learned, and still practical.—*Portland Argus.*

Well warrants our declaring it to be the Review *par excellence* of the country. Its pages are marked by accurate and deep research, profound scholarship, and unprejudiced and fearless criticism.—*Willis and Phillips's Home Journal.*

This periodical approaches nearer in design and execution to the great English standards, the Edinburgh, the Westminster, the London Quarterly, Blackwood's, the Dublin University, &c., than any other American magazine or review.—*Philadelphia North American.*

While perusing its pages, we have been often struck with the sterling qualities of this periodical, which is an honor to our literature and a monument to our national reputation. The view is from the Protestant standpoint; and yet it is, in almost every particular, just and true, though entirely different from that usually taken by Protestants writers.—*Balto. Cath. Mirror.*

We relish the incisive discussions which are a prominent feature in the *Quarterly*, of the "sensation novels," and the very dirty accompanying phases of publishers' and critics' operation, and its energetic exposure of sundry impudent translations of French novels. The critical department is unusually full and careful, especially upon educational books. * * * Its critical estimates of moral and literary merits and demerits are honest, clear, and almost always trustworthy.—*New York Independent.*

While these spontaneous and appreciative notices of *The National Quarterly Review* must be received as evidence of its complete success, in a literary sense, there is competent evidence of a still stronger character that it fulfilled, and continues to fulfill, the high purpose of its founder and editor. In that respect its pages speak for themselves. They afford the best evidence of all of its literary excellence; while the charlatanism in politics, trade and the learned professions it has exposed; the shams in literature, on the part of both author and publisher, it has unearthed; the quackery in colleges and schools it has ventilated; the trickery, bombast and venality it has fearlessly unearthed in various departments of the public interest, testify

more strongly than anything else can do to the eminent success of the *Review*. If the *Review* and its fearless and indefatigable editor, who has prematurely fallen with his face to the foe, had done nothing else, the service which they have rendered the rising generation, in uncovering and breaking up the unscrupulous and mercenary designs of puerile and quack educators, corporations and institutions, entitles both to the lasting gratitude of the American people and of mankind.

But the character of these successes which have attended the *National Quarterly Review* from its inception to the present, is not, we fear, such as would satisfy the modern aspirant for literary distinction. The success to which most men and women aspire, whether they are literary or otherwise, is of a kind more tangible than literary merit, good deeds, or helpful work. It is the opprobrium of the age that the value of any achievement is measured by a pecuniary standard. Character or mere literary merit is seldom an object of envy. In respect of the *Review*, it is not our purpose to test its success in that way, except so far as to say that it was neither maintained by loans, bequests nor endowments; nor by issuing scrip which fell below par or became worthless in the market; nor by begging; nor by appealing to sectarian or partisan feeling for support. The editor secured a respectable living from its legitimate revenue; and if it yielded more than was necessary for that purpose, the fact itself would, in our mind, disparage the value of the *Review*, rather than add anything to it; and weaken our estimate of its success, rather than strengthen it. The day has not come in America when scholarship commands a premium; and he who becomes affluent from the profits of a literary periodical must submit to have the quality of his publication called in question, or doubts thrown on his fairness and rectitude in the conduct of it.

Laying down the *Review*, let us take up the man and editor; and first in respect of his literary quality.

Dr. Sears was by nature and training a literary man. In the first place he was thoroughly educated. His memory was retentive; his learning extensive. He never needed to learn the same thing the second time. What he knew once he

always knew, and this fact gave him great advantage in conversation, and made him an antagonist in debate of no mean proportion. As a latinist he had few superiors, speaking and writing the language of Cæsar and Cicero with rare ease and fluency, and we believe, rarer correctness. Almost as much as this can be said of his knowledge of the Greek language and literature. He was ever quoting some terse line from the *Ænid* or the *Iliad* to make a point, or round a period, and generally with singular appositeness. If in his essays he quoted oftener from the Latin than the Greek poets, it was because Greek was more difficult for the printer and gave the editor, consequently, more trouble with the proofs. For many years it was his custom to read daily from the original some latin or greek author—the *Odes* of Horace or the *Iliad* of Homer—like the devout christian the Bible or the Prayer-book, before going to bed. Indeed, nothing gave him so much satisfaction as the works of the ancient masters. Constant communion with those authors made him not only familiar with their writings, but prepared him to assimilate their thought and enter into their emotions, and finally to accept their faith and philosophy. This course of life could have but one result: it isolated him from intimate converse with his English speaking and praying christian fellows, as effectually almost as if he lived in solitary confinement! The fact may seem of small significance to many people; but in truth it is a fearful experience to be thus imprisoned within one's own breast—a stranger among familiar faces! One thus environed may reside in a bustling city and share the loneliness of one in a wilderness; externally, be surrounded with friends, but in reality live in the long dead past. It is appreciative sympathy that brings human souls into nearness and communion. Where this exists not there can be no permanent joy and satisfaction in companionship. Few men felt the force of this truth more keenly than Dr. Sears. And it was for this reason that he took so much delight in the acquaintance of a scholar of the antiquated type. A new acquaintance of that character gave him the satisfaction of a stranger in a strange land meeting with a familiar face. His first impulse was to embrace

such a one and, if he were needy, to divide with him whatever he had.

With the modern languages, English of course excepted, Dr. Sears was not equally familiar. While he read and translated easily German, French, Italian, Spanish, etc., these languages did not afford him the delight which he derived from Latin and Greek. The best of the modern writers, even Gœthe, Schiller or Shakespeare, was not by any means comparable to those of the ancient classical writers. It seemed to him that the course of human development was in cycles. After completing one evolution, so to speak, humanity fell back to the beginning and repeated its experience, discovering over again principles that time and failing memory had obscured. Thus modern truths were but re-discoveries, by different means, perhaps, of axioms established by the philosophers of antiquity. No one who saw so clearly as Dr. Sears the justice of this view could share the enthusiasm of his contemporaries over the supposed discovery of a new idea or the explosion of an old supposed fallacy.

But a man may be master of several languages and still be no scholar. He may be well up in Greek, Hebrew, Sanscrit and Choctaw, and lack erudition. We have known men semi-idiotic who knew Greek; and others of very inferior mentality who could translate Sanscrit and decipher Arabic; and still others, ignorant of elementary chemistry, the circulation of the blood or the rudiments of mathematics, but who could nevertheless read all the modern languages. Something more, therefore, than a knowledge of the ancient and modern languages is required to constitute a scholar. One must possess sense, learning and erudition as well. And in these respects our late friend and editor was certainly not wanting. Indeed, his learning was more extensive than was his scholarship, and his culture, more than equalled by his erudition. He was quite in his element in the higher mathematics, and entirely at home in chemistry and microscopy. And in the collateral sciences of medicine his knowledge was far superior to that of the average practitioner. Indeed, in the history of the progress and development of those sciences his erudition was

most thorough—seemed to want nothing. Nor was he wanting in nosology and diagnostics. Many a time has he tripped up and confused an unwary medical counsellor whom he had called to attend his family. Physicians, be it observed, frequently become lax in technical diagnosis, and give opinions, we are ashamed to say, which do not bear close criticism; not because they are ignorant or ill-informed, but because an ignorant clientage does not stimulate them to exactitude in that respect. They lapse into carelessness and indifference for the want of it. In the instances to which we refer the doctors committed the blunder of presuming upon the usual ignorance of their client. One of these medical gentlemen who met with sudden and unexpected discomfiture at the hands of Dr. Sears was a professor in one of the medical colleges in New York, and a man of more than average ability. The circumstance is quite familiar to us, for we chanced to call on Dr. Sears on the occasion and were wicked enough to join in a laugh at our colleague's expense. It is not at all strange that a man of such erudition as that of Dr. Sears should have felt contempt for the empty professional pretension which is so common in the world to-day.

Did we undertake to give the reader an adequate idea of Dr. Sears' learning in the department of exact science, we should weary him with the long detail. We have frequently conversed with him on subjects which were a part of our specialties, and have as frequently been surprised to find him so well read in them—embarrassed often to find that his knowledge of the literature of such special subjects was superior to our own. And when any point became a subject of controversy between us, it is due to him to say that he was oftener right than wrong. Nor was his erudition confined to medical subjects. In the literature of the natural sciences—physics proper—he was by no means a novice. Jurisprudence, too, was not unknown to him. Familiarity with the literature of these special departments of science and study gave him high rank as an editor of a *Review*.

But if Dr. Sears was proficient in the literature of science, he was not less so in general literature and art. We have

already intimated that history was his specialty. But he had a large acquaintance with biography and belles-lettres. He was as familiar with modern poetry as with the ancient; and could detect a misquotation with the certainty of a master. Those who have been in the habit of reading his "Book notices and criticisms" in *The National Quarterly Review*, need not be assured of his rare knowledge of books. So, likewise, on art subjects Dr. Sears exhibited almost equal familiarity. Preparatory to entering on his editorial career he had visited the art galleries of Europe and became acquainted with the chief works of the masters. He was conversant with the career and works of the great sculptors and painters, ancient and modern. Music must also be added to the list of his studies. While he played on no musical instrument, he had an appreciative ear. The subject of music is one which one might reasonably suppose to be foreign to the taste of an editor. But it was not so with Dr. Sears. But a few weeks previous to his death, he was at our house by invitation, to lunch and to witness a four-hand performance on the piano. The pieces played were some overtures of Weber's and Auber's, with all of which he was quite familiar. And in a brief chat with the young ladies, though suffering severely from his malady, he quite surprised us with his musical erudition. We had not before been aware that he had an ear for music, much less had we any idea that he had a knowledge of music and an acquaintance with musical literature.

These are a few of the qualifications which our late lamented friend brought to the discharge of those difficult and perplexing duties as editor and critic. We have by no means exhausted the category. And although the pen that enumerates them does not attempt to disguise its friendship for the man and admiration for the genius with which he was endowed, it knows how to be just while it is appreciative. The brain that wields it is not sufficiently versatile to indulge in hyperbolic exaggeration of the qualities of any man, even were it so inclined. The full truth requires even more to be said of the ability of the man than has been said; and we trust that other heads, larger and wiser than our own may make

up the deficiency. We must now leave the scholar and turn our attention to the writer.

The literary quality is as distinct from any other mental quality, as oratory from eloquence, or music from painting. It does not need learning to enable one to write well; and scholarship is more often a hindrance than a help to literary excellence. He who knows the least is often able to express himself the best; grace and fluency in expression being surface qualities, which, while they are more generally appreciated, are oftener met with and more easily acquired.

Then, there is great variety of good writing. It fact there are as many styles of literary composition as there are varieties of the pulse beat, all normal and equally good. One may prefer Dickens to Macaulay—though that is not conceivable to us—or George Sand to George Eliot—and that, too, is equally inexplicable to us—or Lecky to Buckle; or Channing to Edwards; or Sir Walter Scott to any of these distinguished writers. But who shall say which of them is the superior? There is the finished versatile style of the scholar; the broad comprehensive style of the philosopher; the terse, vigorous style of the thinker; the flippant redundancy of the sensational novelist; the easy felicitousness of the poetic spirit; and the pleasing vivaciousness of the vital temperament. Each is good in its way, but no more comparable, with the others, than is Wagener's music to Beethoven's; or the paintings of Michael Angelo to those of Meissonnier.

In respect of style—or styles, for he had two—of Dr. Sears' literary composition, one was learned without being heavy; light and fluent often, without being weak. His essays on classical subjects were characterized always by clearness and perspicuity, often by felicity. They rarely disclosed inaccuracy, still rarer ignorance of the subject. We cite an illustration at random from his essay on "Epicurus and his Philosophy":

"But the influence of Epicurus and Lucretius was too powerful to be entirely crushed in a thousand, or even two thousand years. There is not one of our modern atheists who has not drawn his chief arguments against the Creator of the

universe from the Epicurian philosophy. If the reader will examine the works of all, he will see how little they contain that is original; and, in nine cases out of ten, this little consists of an exaggeration of the doctrines of Epicurus. Even Descartes had the physical system of the illustrious Greek before his mind, when he promulgated the apothegm: "*Donnez-moi la matière et le mouvement, et je construirai le monde.*" The same matter and motion, be it remembered, were the chief gods of Epicurus; according to him, it is they that had formed the universe and everything that inhabits it. In his physics, Descartes makes nature too independent of the Deity; whereas, in his metaphysics, he makes God and nature nearly one; and his *plenum* had the effect of rendering his system still more confused. Thus it was that he left room for the two systems of Spinoza and Malebranche—one regarding all things as God, the other regarding God as all. It does not seem that Descartes had any better reason for maintaining that "nature abhors a vacuum," than that Epicurus had taught thousands of years before him that a vacuum was essential to motion, a doctrine which, as already intimated, has received the sanction of Copernicus, Newton, Kepler and Galileo. Be this as it may, it is beyond dispute that Descartes, as well as Spinoza and Malebranche, has been influenced by Epicurus."*

In his essay on Dante and the *Divina Comedia*, his style is terse and his conception real:

"Not only is it necessary to be acquainted with all the circumstances in which the author was placed; but, in order to comprehend it, either as a whole or in detail, a careful and laborious preparation is essential; for it must be remembered that the poem embraces all that was known in the middle ages. Much of this had to be unlearned since: in other words, the light of modern science has proved it to be erroneous. This is particularly true of the old system of astronomy and geography, which, however, the reader must be familiar with before he can hope to understand Dante's masterpiece. But the pleasure to be derived from an intelligent

* *National Quarterly Review.* Vol. XVI, pp. 228–9.

perusal will amply repay all the trouble that has been had in preparation. What at first seemed little better than a chaos, though everywhere full of beauties, is found to possess the most perfect harmony. The half-hidden links begin to display themselves one by one. We are led step by step through the most varied situations, and are brought in contact with almost innumerable characters and personages, all so graphically sketched, that one often finds it difficult to remember that what strikes him so forcibly, and awakens within him such variety of emotions, is after all but an illusion—the effect of the enchanter's wand. * * * Homer had sent Ulysses to the infernal regions, and Virgil had taken the same liberty with Æneas; Orpheus, we are told, would have recovered his lost Eurydice had he not looked back into hell. But Dante explores all in person, enters circle after circle, describing all he meets, placing his enemies among the damned, putting them lower and lower down, according to the degree of his hatred toward them, and placing his friends in Purgatory or Paradise, according to the degree of his esteem or affection."*

This style of literary composition runs through all of Dr. Sears' graver productions. It is as clear as crystal and as comprehensive as his subject. His forte was interpreting the ideas and explaining the methods of other minds rather than original thinking; and in that particular we know of no superior—scarcely an equal in modern times. The subject was not material. Whether it were historic or pre-historic; modern customs or ancient civilizations; Roman comedies or Greek dramas; the ethics of war, or, the literature of China or Hindoo; the Tragedies of Sophocles, or, the Quackery of Life Insurance; the lyrics of Klopstock, or Spanish, or Italian poetry; the philosophy of Lucretius, or Spinoza; or the Defense of Euripides, it was all the same. Clear light was reflected on each from his versatile genius; and when he had finished the reader felt that nothing more remained to be said. The essayist had given him a clearer view of the subject than he could get by a tedious perusal of the original

* Dante. *National Quarterly Review.* Vol. I, pp. 11, 12.

works themselves. Take, for example, a few sentences from his "Defense of Euripides":

"That authors of our own time should have any interest in robbing of his glory, a poet who wrote more than two thousand years ago, may seem absurd at first sight; but we will show, as we proceed, that there is good reasons for it, although it is perverse and unjust. If we turn from the Greeks to the Romans, we shall find that the most cautious and judicious of the latter had as high an admiration for Euripides as the most friendly and enthusiastic of the former. This is true, for example, of Quintilian, than whom, it will be admitted, there has been no better authority since the time of the Stagyrite himself. Quintilian frequently alludes to Euripides, and always in the language of esteem and admiration. The Roman critic is as fond of comparisons as Socrates or Plato; but he is much more cautious in giving decided expression to his preference than either. If the reader will bear this fact in mind he will be the better able to appreciate the following estimate. Having first directed his attention to Æschylus whom he justly designated as 'grandiloquent even to a fault,' as well as 'rough and unpolished,' Quintilian proceeds to say:" Here follows some terse declamatory sentences from Quintilian, in praise of Euripides' style, which he declares approaches the "language of oratory;" and the poet, himself, he represents as abounding "in fine thoughts," &c.; after giving which, our essayist proceeds: "We think that no one can intelligently and impartially examine the subject without coming to the conclusion that his influence has been greater than that of any other ancient poet whose works have come down to us, with the sole exception of Homer. We have already remarked that his tragedies were frequently quoted by all the master spirits of his time. Even Diogenes, who freely criticised both Plato and Socrates, was always willing to own that he imparted additional force to his best precepts by appropriate quotations from Euripides. But many Greek dramas, now lost, owed their chief merit to what their authors borrowed from the author of Medea, Hippolytus and Iphigenia in Tauris. Nor did he prove a less prolific source to the greatest

thinkers of ancient Rome. Virgil avails himself of his pathetic and striking thoughts in a hundred instances; and both Horace and Juvenal, play court to him in their most brilliant strains. Ovid admired the Medea so much that he composed a tragedy himself of that name, doing little more than transposing both the characters and incidents of Euripides. Seneca, the philosopher and moralist, has more than imitated several of the tragedies of our poet, including Medea, Hercules, Furens, Troades, Hippolytus and the Phœnicians. Even Cicero found it an instructive and interesting exercise to occupy himself for days and weeks in translating the sonorous, musical and pathetic verses of Euripides."* No language could be more lucid; no style clearer or more comprehensive. One rises after reading the essay, refreshed and invigorated, whether one agrees with the author or not.

We have said that Dr. Sears was an interpreter of other men's ideas, rather than an originator of ideas himself. He did not wander in unbeaten paths, nor rack his brain over some new conception of the Infinite. He was content to take the ancient masters of thought and expression for his guide and devote himself to their elucidation. While that is not the highest order of mind, we would not underrate it. Next in excellence to originality is the ability to appreciate and comprehend originality. If the first constitutes a master, the second makes a teacher. And Dr. Sears was a teacher *par excellence.* Talent like the former may be compared to the rain-drops which supply the streams and fill the fountains; that of the second to a reservoir which receives and distributes the water to dependent and needy districts. Our essayist was like a distributing reservoir of immense capacity, supplying the multitude with living water collected from the out-pourings of the masters of antiquity, who, if not divine, were at least superior to the average conception of the human.

We should not do justice to the *writer*, however, did we neglect to exhibit him as a critic and satirist. No English writer within the present century, with whom we are familiar, equalled Dr. Sears in satirical composition. His sense of the

* *National Quarterly Review.* Vol. XIX, p. 9, *et seq.*

comic and rediculous was so keen; his wit so thoroughly Irish; and his command of language so full, that no occasion was too set or too common-place to afford him endless material for satire. And it was difficult for him to restrain his amusement, over the rediculous, even on occasions calling for gravity. Two days before his decease, even when the hand of death was upon him, Dr. Sears was convulsed with laughter on recalling a ridiculous incident that had occurred a few years since—that of a pea-nut vender who was bewailing her misfortune of having been "busted up," as she averred, by a purchaser buying her ten cents' worth of stock and failing to pay her! This pure sense of the ridiculous, which Dr. Sears possessed so highly, was not unfrequently the cause of his being misunderstood. He was often placed by it in a false position. It made him appear wanting in respect for things sacred or serious; or in the dignity expected of one in his position. And we must acknowledge that in some respects appearances were too well-founded. In others, however, they did him injustice. On the subject of religion, for example, though he was himself a stranger to religious feeling, he never allowed his levity to get the better of his discretion. Nor was he restrained in that particular from a sense of propriety alone. It is but just to say that the respect he always felt for the sentiments of others was a sufficient restraint. While he may not have feared God, his respect for man forbade him to speak lightly of man's noblest sentiment—Religion.

Our author's subjects for satire were mostly well chosen. Shams under whatsoever title, pretension in whatsoever garb, cant and hypocrisy in whatsoever color or form, charlatanry in education and insurance; quackery in its protean forms, titles or otherwise, were themes for endless pen-thrusts. It is not too much to say that to expose a sham or prick a bubble gave him more real satisfaction than to eat his dinner. The title he gave his satirical sketches were in themselves satires. Take, for example: Vassar College and its Degrees; The Puffing Element in American Literature; Central Park under Ringleader Rule; Our Aristocracy as manufactured from the raw material; The Beechers and the Tiltons; The University

of Pennsylvania and its New Windows, etc., etc. The texts selected were equally expressive of the manner in which the subject was treated. We cite one example, a part of that which heads his "Supplement" to the critique on the University of Pennsylvania:

"3. *An Essay on the Art of Growing Rich by* DEGREES, *as practised in the middle of the Nineteenth Century among the people called Quakers, with some Digressions on Natural History, Equipments, Gunnery, Materia Medica*, etc., etc. Manhattan: MDCCCLXXIII."

And the "Supplement" itself begins thus:

"WE trust it is superfluous for us to say that it is in no boastful spirit we ask our readers of the Keystone State, especially those of the good Quaker City, whether our peculiar mode of treatment has not proved remarkably efficacious in the case of their most venerable patient. That it has made the old lady feel sadly uncomfortable for a month or more, is very true. It is also true that this is a much longer period of suffering than we had calculated upon. We had hoped that the effects of the cantharides, lancet, ipecacuanha, aloes, etc., would have all passed off in a week at farthest.

"But be it remembered, in justice to us, that our venerable patient neither allowed us to feel her pulse, nor see her tongue. Since she thus concealed from us some of her worst symptoms, we think we may be excused for having taken it for granted that her case was not so serious as unhappily it has proved to be. Nothing is better understood among pathologists than that patients who are much debilitated from chronic disease cannot bear much of what some practitioners still call antiphlogistic treatment. If from an imperfect diagnosis this treatment is carried to excess, there is danger that it will kill the patient; at best, in proportion as the constitution is weak, it is slow in recovering from the commotion produced in the system by such agencies as cathartics, scarifications, emetics, etc. This will account for the unusually protracted writhings of our illustrious Pennsylvania patient—writhings which, we trust we need hardly say, moved the bowels of compassion of

none to a deeper pitch of tenderness than ours." Etc., etc.

We regret that our limit forbids us to extract more of this remarkable essay. This, however, will answer our purpose. For severity of criticism and strength of irony, it surpasses anything that was ever printed in the *Review*. The circumstances which called it forth were briefly these: The editor had previously had reason—or thought he had—to write a severe criticism on the University referred to, in which he called in question the erudition and scholarship of its president. The latter had declined, in questionable English, a courteous request in latin, on the part of our satirist, to be permitted to witness the recitations of his classes. Many facts derogatory of the institution had meanwhile collected in the editor's drawer, awaiting an occasion to use them. And for that he had not long to wait. We subjoin below the first paragraph of the Latin epistle mentioned above, together with the reply to it, *verbatim et literatim*:

"Kal. xii, Nov. 1871.

"AD DR. CAROLUM J. STILLÉ, *Præfectum, etc.*:

"CARE DOMINE,—Quando eram in urbe amœna tua, nuper, visitabum tuum auditorium. Volebam per multum te videre, sed infeliciter foris eras. Verum est, certé, quod Prof. Johannes McElroy valdé comis et jucundus erat. Equidem, si placit tibi, vellem multas gratias illi, per te, agere pro urbanitati suæ." Etc. *

To this very polite and thoroughly courteous note the following letter, which, according to Dr. Sears, is a literal copy of the original, was received. It will be seen that the "learned" Provost played directly into the hands of his able antagonist:

"UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA,
"PROVOST'S ROOM
"Philadelphia, May 1 1869

"Edward I Sears Esq LLD.

"Dear Sir:

"I have your letter of the 28th ult: addressed to "the President of Pennsylvania Uneversity," (there

* *National Quarterly Review*. Vol. XXVI, p. 303.

is no such person) and I beg to say in reply, that While our arrangements do not permit the presence of Strangers in our recitation rooms during recitation hours, We shall be happy to see you or any one else enterested in the Subject, at the annual public examination of our classes which takes place from the 15th to 20th June next—

Very respectfully
C. J Stillé
Provost
&c" *

Such was the occasion and such the cause of the remarkable critique, entitled "The University of Pennsylvania and its New Windows," a paragraph or two from which, we extract:

"It is true, that, considered in this light, the University of Pennsylvania is comparatively respectable. Thus, so far as we know, there are only *two* other colleges in the United States who refuse to allow their recitations to be heard by any intelligent person, not known to belong to the "appreciative" class. These two are Fordham and Seton Hall. The standard of education at Fordham is about the same as that of the University of Pennsylvania, except that, perhaps, billiard playing does not receive so much prominence as a branch of education at the latter institution, if it be taught there at all, as it does at the former. Be this as it may, either is many degrees above Seton Hall; or, in other words, either has many degrees to sink before it reaches the "lower depth" of that institution. Accordingly, Dr. Stillé evinces no unseemly feeling further than to refuse; his refusal is couched in gentlemanly language. Father Shea does not, perhaps, manifest his unwillingness in a manner quite so polite as Dr. Stillé, but he says nothing discourteous."

"Upon the other hand, the Very Rev. Father Corrigan is not merely discourteous under similar circumstances, but abusive. An apple-woman, whose "cart" is upset by accident or design, so that her wares are in danger of being picked up and devoured by the passing urchins, could hardly manifest

* *National Quarterly Review.* Vol. XXVI, p. 306.

more rage, or make use of lower or more debasing expressions than the Very Rev. President and Professor of Christian Ethics at Seton Hall, although so long as he thinks that all that is required is to show the billiard saloon, the drinking saloon, or the dormitories, he is as mild as a lamb, and as cheerful and loquacious as a purple-head parrot, who has just dined on almonds and red pepper. Thus, then, the order of rank is, Dr. Stillé, Father Shea, *Very* Rev. Father Corrigan; in other words, University of Pennsylvania, St. John's College, Fordham, Seton Hall College, New Jersey." *

But this will do for the purpose we have in view. The article comprises about fifteen pages of the *Review*, and through the whole of it runs a fine view of irony, which must have pained its subject like acupuncture performed with burning needles. It will be observed that he did not spare the Rev. Catholic professors and presidents who had evinced on similar occasions, an equal aversion to a "Stranger" being present at class-recitations.

While we write thus in praise of Dr. Sears as a critic, we are by no means blind to his faults as such. His impetuosity not unfrequently overcame his prudence; and while confining his criticisms to facts, he forgot, or neglected to exercise charity. His disposition was impulsive; his temperament ardent and sensitive. He was, therefore, easily stung into resentment, in which mood he never gave nor asked quarter. The readers of the *Review* will recall, we fear, many instances in which his hot Irish blood, made still hotter by an unkind cut, or an abusive thrust, drove him into extreme courses; and if then his criticisms were not actuated by *spite*, they were clearly amenable to the charge of being *intemperate*. His recent critique on Michigan University, for example, seemed to us to have been conceived more in a spirit of attack than of pure legitimate criticism; and just so far as this is true of a criticism, we care not how gross be the abuses complained of—and Heaven knows they were rank at Michigan—just so far and

* *National Quarterly Review*. Vol. XXVI, p. 97.

to that extent does criticism, lose force and fail of the effect which ought to be the object of all criticism.

There are two things which sorely taxed Dr. Sears' patience —yea, three things which he utterly abhorred. The first was a preceptor who did not understand himself the things he taught; the second was an institution devoted to conferring degrees; the third was a weak, pretentious book. And if in dealing with these things, evils so gigantic in American society that they threaten to undermine its civil progress, Dr. Sears now and then lost his temper and descended to undignified criticism, most people, we believe, will hold him excusable. Indeed, those who are in a position to appreciate the magnitude of these evils, and the necessity of bravely dealing with them, invariably justify the propriety of his course. As one would naturally suppose, those who felt the most keenly the force of his blows, complained the most bitterly of his "spitefulness," and expressed the most regret for his want of "Dignity" as an editor of a "Grave Quarterly."

We have referred to his impatience with a bad book. It is unnecessary, perhaps, to inform readers of the *National Quarterly Review*, that a *weak* book was, in his estimation, synonymous with a *bad* book. Whether he were right or wrong in this opinion, we will not stop to consider. Be that as it may, we cannot but sympathize with the authors and publishers of some of the books which came under his notice. While we regard him one of the ablest book reviewers in America, and admire his terse, incisive method, as well as, his fearless independence in criticism, we, at the same time, cannot believe that his severity was always just, or always wise. With him it was with weak books as it was with weak people. While his judgment was beyond question, his charity might sometimes be found wanting. In noticing a book he had regard first to the intrinsic merit of it; second to the interest of book-readers and book buyers. The other interests concerned, those of author and publisher, were completely lost sight of by him. We cite an instance, that of the second book notice ever published in the *Review*, viz.: "The New American Cyclopedia."

The reviewer begins his critique on the ninth volume of this already obsolete work, by disclaiming any disposition to find needless fault, or desire to attack anybody connected with it; frankly admitting that many of the writers of the articles which it contained were men of literary ability. Then he proceeds to say: "For one article that may be read with profit and pleasure, or that may be referred to as an authority, there are at least twenty that have not even the negative recommendation of being written in correct English. Nor are bad grammar and slang by any means the worst faults of the latter. It is but rarely that we find either their facts or their dates correctly stated, but calculated to mislead rather than guide." (P. 234.) Further on he cites from the work examples of literary blunders, irregularities of expression, and faulty misleading statements. He also cites curious illustrations of redundancy: "The next important event in the history of Hindostan was one which had attracted *the universal attention of mankind in all quarters of the globe*," etc. (P. 235.) Here is another instance: "Herbert, Henry William, *an American author of English birth, born* in London, &c. (P. 236.) This style of criticism is certainly quite legitimate; and a reviewer who takes the trouble to indulge his pen in it is a public benefactor, deserving the thanks, not only of the public, but of both editor and writer whose work is thus cleverly criticised. But Dr. Sears, did not stop here, in this instance. He boldly charged the authors of the work with conniving at a scheme to immortalize the many penny-a-liners who wrote articles for it, by having sketches of themselves appear in its pages. He writes: "It would be somewhat amusing, if not instructive, to glance over the nine volumes, now published, and see how many scores of persons have been made famous in this way. But on the present occasion we must confine ourselves to the last issue. In this alone there is quite a formidable array of living celebrities. We forbear, however, to give the names of any. If they have written articles either for the work or in praise of it, they have a right to be requited in one shape or another. It is their own affair if they prefer a eulogy on a thing that does not exist—that is their genius. Nor are they to blame for

employing their friends to get up such eulogy for them, even if they have not an opportunity of reciprocating on the principle—'You tickle me, and I tickle you.'" (P. 234.) We cite this as an illustrating of improper, illegitimate criticism; but it is such only on the ground that the reviewer was not justified in making, even in *inuendo*, so grave a charge. He must have had evidence other than that afforded by the pages of the work to support the charge, or he was not justified in making it, even by implication, against editors and publisher of such standing as the Messrs. Appleton, Ripley and Dana.

Another example of intemperate literary criticism may be found in an article published in the *Review* for December, 1874, on Bancroft's History of the United States. Dr. Sears, although a foreigner himself, was intensely republican. He was irritated beyond endurance at the spectacle of a distinguished American "toadying" to royalty, or paying court to nobility. In some passages in the last published volume of his history, Mr. Bancroft had mortally offended the critic's republican taste in that regard, and consequently fell a victim to his literary ire. Here, too, was a volume purporting to be devoted to American history, but in reality giving European, that of England, France, Spain, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, &c., with the lives and literature of court personages and poets of each, together with discursive disquisitions on the Pope, Christianity, Islamism, &c. In respect of this feature of what our terse reviewer calls Mr. Bancroft's "Overgrown and flabby bantling," he writes:

"Suppose we try and picture to ourselves what would have been the result had any of the writers of ancient history proceeded on the fortunately novel plan adopted by our historian; had Sallust, for instance, in his Conspiracy of Catiline, undertaken to treat the subject *ab ovo usque ad mala*, and to favor the Augustan readers with his views on everything that had occurred in Rome—or out of it—from the genealogy of the wolf that suckled Romulus to the moment when the stylus should fall from his failing hand. *Manes* of the unflinching and eloquent Roman forgive us the supposition! it seems profanation to mention thy name even by way of contrast in

juxtaposition with that of the modern bibliographist. But, assuming the possibility of the Augustan author indulging the proclivities of Mr. Bancroft, we may imagine what temptations would have beset him. Dire visions arise of a work which should have contained the entire history of Rome, from the fabled arrival of Æneas into Latium; the biography of Æneas himself; the loves of Venus and Anchises; the judgment of Paris and the Trojan War—perhaps the building of Troy and the stories of Laomedon and Hesione—undoubtedly intermingled with general disquisitions on the nature of the gods, godesses, heroes, and sea-monsters. Hesione might have suggested Andromeda, which would have furnished an excuse for enlarging on the history, natural and political, of Africa. Of course we should have had a full account of Mauritania and Numidia, with the story of the building of Carthage, and the loves of Æneas and Dido—possibly an excursion into Egypt and the kingdoms of the East. Greece, of course, could not have been omitted, and the historian would then probably have taken a northward flight and instructed his readers in the antiquities of Ultima Thule!" Pp. 83–4.

Then the critic proceeds to take the volume to pieces chapter by chapter; pointing out falsities of fact here, and defects of taste there; now weak bathos, then shallow affectation; through all a discursive tendency which involves the reader in a maze of bewilderment and the author in flat contradictions. The limit of our space forbids citations of examples; but no one can rise from reading them without feeling the justness of the reviewer's judgment, and sharing his opinion that, "when the last volume shall have issued from the press, and Bancroft's History of the United States shall have taken its place on the shelves of the public libraries as a completed work, it is certain that the intelligent general opinion will remain undisturbed, that, notwithstanding the labor which the author has bestowed on his overgrown and flabby bantling, the History of the United States remains yet to be written."

These are fair examples of Dr. Sears' criticism of weak books; and while we heartily sympathize with his severity in dealing with such obvious defects as we have here enumerated,

we could wish that he had sought for and pointed out something to commend; for surely, there is no book so thoroughly bad but it has some redeeming quality. Our critic, however, could not spare the time—nor had he the patience—to write phrases, soft and euphonious, which could only have the effect to break the force of what he intended to say—especially in respect of a poor book. He might condescend to lift his hat to a painted face, if it were expected of him; keep silent over wrongs sanctioned by respectability, if society demanded it of him; submit to wear the aspect of respect toward effete customs at the behest of public sentiment; uncover to folly and hypocrisy moss-covered with age, in deference to religion; but no considerations of policy, personal or otherwise, either of interest or friendship; or private, either of author or publisher, could tempt him to compromise his personal independence in literary criticism, and permit a weak book to pass the ordeal of his notice without the seal of his strong disapprobation.

But we must not tarry longer over the characteristics of the *writer*. Other pens far abler than ours will do him justice in that regard. It remains for us to delineate the characteristics of the *man*, as distinct from scholar, essayist and critic. For after all it is of far more consequence what a man is than what he does. As character is distinct from repute, or shadow from substance, so is the value of the one superior to that of the other.

We have said that Dr. Sears was not a religious man. It is true, he was a member of no religious denomination. He neither attended church, read his prayers, sang psalms, nor engaged in other outward religious exercises or observances. Nevertheless he was not an irreligious man. He acted on the ancient maxim that

"*Virtus in actione consistit.*"

His confidence was in works rather than faith; and while believing in the existence of a Supreme Being as a Ruler and Governor of the world, he would never permit himself to be drawn into controversy on the subject of His attributes; the form and mode of that Existence being in his view above

finite comprehension, and, therefore, not subjects for profitable discussion.

Honor, generosity, kindness and integrity were strong traits in Dr. Sears' character, and it is only by divorcing these elements from religion, that we can deny him the religious quality. He neither forgot a favor, nor failed to keep a promise. His emotions were strong, both of friendship and resentment. If he were quick to become angry, he was quick to get over it. While he was subject to certain ebullitions of passion, and might then abuse his best friend, the paroxysm evaporated in words and left its victim in a repentant mood. Accordingly the sun seldom went down on his wrath; and no injury he had done a friend by word or deed remained long unatoned for. This was true of him whether the object of his wrath were foe or friend. The emotion of revenge was as foreign to his nature as ice to the tropics; and he could no more indulge in malice, willful and deliberate, than a bird could fly without wings, or than a ship could float in defiance of the law of specific gravity. The strongest law of his impulsive nature was kindness. His sympathy was unbounded. But so also was that of Steele's, Howard's, Greeley's, and other charitably minded but passionate celebrities. The mildest mannered and most peaceably disposed people are not unfamiliar with intense passion and the use of invective. Steele could beat his wife on occasions; and Mr. Greeley call a man a liar and even indulge in profanity with evident relief if not with positive enjoyment. And those were amiable men, surely. Dr. Sears was less amiable than either, and yet no one can justly accuse him of indulging his passionate temper so far as did Steele.

The philosophical reader will regard this phase of Dr. Sears' character as evidence of weakness, in which view we fully concur. Uncontrollable anger is a frenzy of the mind—a kind of madness; and it by no means indicates strength of mind and nerve. It arises in a condition allied to disease; and disease, in whomsoever it exists, is allied to weakness. It may be justly argued, however, in extenuation of our editor's passionate characteristics, that his provocations to anger were

many and frequent. To say that he was an editor and had to revise and correct the Mss. of conceited idiots and half-educated writers—and get curses instead of thanks for his pains—does not convey an adequate idea of the situation. He was a censor and a critic; and as such took upon himself the thankless task of improving the public taste, and bettering the condition of people worse off than himself. In this labor he received some thanks and strong moral support from certain private and confidential sources, and an immense amount of discourteous, not to say vulgar—abuse, from certain long-eared individuals whose asinine rage had been excited by hard thrusts from his sharp-pointed pen. Those people frequently felt themselves aggrieved by his critical pungency, and gave him no little annoyance, sometimes positive discomfort—pain. Not content with writing abusive and insulting letters to him they often threatened libel suits; or, failing to carry their point in that way, openly charged the fearless critic with "Blackmail." Sometimes they succeeded in making certain over-sensitive, weakly suspicious people believe that blackmailing operations were part of the *National Quarterly Review's* programme! We happen to know that the charge of blackmail was the most cruel thrust Dr. Sears' keen scented enemies ever gave him, false and malicious as it was. That it was resented with spirit we can easily believe. But the charge was not the worst of the matter. A few individuals whom he respected, and whose good opinion he prized beyond money, listened to it without repelling the vile and villainous lie in language it deserved. It almost seemed to many that the charge might have some foundation in fact; and a negative demurrer were worse than a positive assent. Better by far is it to go over to the enemy at once than to play the part of neutrality when one's friends are attacked. Be that as it may, this charge of "Blackmail," which was often hurled at Dr. Sears by disaffected writers and angry, disappointed tutors and self-styled preceptors, was no small source of just worry and vexation of spirit to him.

Dr. Sears was generous to a fault. The sentiments of friendship and fidelity were so strong in him as to impair his

judgment. He was as blind to the faults of his friends as he was clairvoyant to those of his foes. If he overrated the former he not improbably underrated the latter. This peculiarity was the natural outcome of an impulsive nature. The preceptors, whom he loved and respected, he could not say enough for; those whom he disliked and regarded unfit for their positions, he could not say too much against. And it is not unlikely that he was, for this reason, sometimes unjust to both friends and foes. But if any one supposes that his feelings in this direction, or that, were ever influenced by money, gifts or otherwise, he is mistaken. Money could not buy him. The very institutions he praised the most paid him the least. He might write up an insurance company in whose solvency he believed for a consideration. But there was not money enough in New York to purchase his indorsement of a sham, or induce him to conceal a wrong. The avenues of approach to his judgment ran through his heart, not through his pocket. Treat him with kindness and consideration and he was your faithful friend and ally, if you were worthy of him; treat him with indignity or contumely, and, while still faithful to his promises and obligations to you, he was your open foe and satirist—finding more faults in your character and conduct, more defects in your culture and education than you were ever cognizant of yourself. We repeat, therefore, that while his good opinion might be open to the suspicion of bias, it was the bias of friendship, and by no means that of cupidity or purchase. Let one beware how one speaks ill of such a man!

His benevolence partook of the nature of his impulsive generosity and kindliness. The poor and distressed never appealed to him in vain. He knew not the value of money. With one hand he took in and with the other as freely gave away. Whether it were a threadbare author seeking a market for his or her manuscript; a beggar asking alms; a hungry organ-grinder eager for a penny; or a flower, or peanut woman, each was an object of his solicitude, and he could not pass any of them by without some small token of his kindness. These are small things to record, surely. But they show the quality of the man as clearly as straws show the direction of the wind.

In a large way he was equally generous and large-hearted. He was always helping those of his friends who were in need of help, and that, too, in the most delicate and refined way. Many are the children, of both sexes, who owe their education to his generosity. Apropos of Dr. Sears' interest in children—other people's, for unfortunately he had none of his own—our heart was recently touched by a little letter addressed to him as editor of the *Review*, written by a little girl, to remind him of his promise to give her music lessons. She evidently knew nothing of his decease, though weeks had passed since the event; and while wondering why he had not been to see her of late, she reminded him that she had the fullest confidence that he would keep his word, and added, "for you never have failed to keep all of your promises with me." The last sentence struck me as peculiarly significant. It accords perfectly with my personal observations of the man; and the correspondence which he left behind is full of the same high acknowledgment. It was my painful duty to inform his young ward and correspondent that her faithful patron and friend was no more.

Young children were as fond of Dr. Sears as he was of them. He loved to listen to their little talk, and was infinitely amused with their childish ways and innocent pastimes; and they were equally interested in him. Nor were children alone objects of his kindly attention and regard. Dumb animals, likewise, shared his intimacy and sympathy. He was never without his favorite horse and dog, which he cared for with greater tenderness than many parents exercise toward their children. And they reciprocated his kindness in the most remarkable manner, his dog grieving over his absence and exhibiting the wildest delight upon his return. The attachment between Dr. Sears and his dog was strangely mutual. The animal was his faithful ally, friend, and servant. He waited on his master with friendly solicitude. When he went to walk the dog handed him his hat and cane and whatever other articles it was his custom to take. When he returned, the same faithful servant welcomed him with the warmest demonstrations of affection; took his hat and cane, or umbrella, as the case

might be, and put them away; brought his slippers, and put away his boots, and all without suggestions from his master. On the other hand the master was equally interested in the welfare and friendship of his dog. Nay, more than that; he seemed often dependent on him for companionship. In his literary work the presence of "Dash" at his side was often indispensable. And hours together, during the stillness of the night when most folks sleep and editors ply their pens with the greatest industry, the faithful animal would lie by his side—sleeping, of course; and yet, whether sleeping or awake, he afforded his master that sweet sense of companionship without which Dr. Sears declared he could not write well. There is something peculiarly touching in this sympathy between man and the domestic animals, and this instance of it throws a flood of light on the life of the man whose personal characteristics we are endeavoring to delineate.

Dr. Sears' life was a continual warfare with shams, and we are not surprised that he was content to lay it down and seek rest where rest alone is to be found. His society consisted mostly of scholars, and his intercourse with them was chiefly confined to correspondence. His letters from them breathe a spirit of appreciation, not to say praise, for his labor in behalf of good schools, and they must have been the source of strength and encouragement to him. Although the soul of politeness and hospitality, he was often diffident in the company of indifferent people. It was not owing to the want of self-possession, but rather to his small fund of light conversation. With equals he was always quite at home, and was ready with anecdote or literature, ancient or modern, as occasion required. He was too well-bred to display his lore or learning; too polite even to correct an inaccuracy or misstatement of a fact on the part of his friend and guest. Indeed we have known him to be purposely ignorant of some point in art or science lest he should appear more learned than his guest. His guests, less learned than himself, were rendered, thereby quite at their ease in his society; their confidence in themselves strengthened, instead of diminished; and the impression they received from his respectful deference to their views and

regard for their feelings was like the pleasure one receives at having met and become acquainted with a true gentleman. The communications which came pouring in upon us from various sources after his decease all testify, in language strengthened somewhat by sympathy, to his rare nobility. "He was a noble man," writes a preceptor who had known him many years, and whose advertisement still graces the pages of the *Review*. And another correspondent exclaims in the fine language of the French: "Comment il se rendit digne de l'immortalité!" We think so. And the immortality one makes for himself is of vastly more consequence than that which is made for him.

Dr. Sears was fond of the society of ladies, and we believe that ladies in general were fond of him. His manner was easy in their presence, but to us he always appeared to disadvantage in conversation with them. On occasions like those, his conversation was too light; too much devoted to compliments, &c. His studied politeness to ladies, too, not unfrequently gave him the air of affectation—that peculiarity of manner which springs from acting a sentiment, the genuine quality of which one does not feel. Dr. Sears showed toward ladies the courtesy of a Frenchman, while his true sentiment was that of a well-bred Irishman. The defect was due to errors of education, rather than to those of mind or heart. Be that as it may, it indicated an order of respect for the sex inferior to that which is due to WOMAN as distinct from *lady*. That distinction would have been regarded as an abstraction by Dr. Sears; for it was foreign to his education to regard woman from any other standpoint than that afforded by mediæval society. In that view woman was a being to be admired, perhaps—certainly, "to sit still and bear children,"* and serve, amuse and interest their lord and superior. The term *female*, in that light, was more proper for her than woman. She was in nowise regarded as a being morally free and responsible, much less as a co-laborer of man in the intellectual workshop of the world. It is needless to say that Dr. Sears sympathized with that view.

*Luther. Table talk.

Public opinion, however, largely determines the character of the judgments as well as the social position of us all, independent of the abstract, psychological distinctions of this thinker or that philosopher. To that power most men have to yield. Dr. Sears may have erred now and then, in acknowledging its supremacy; and if he did, his fault is shared by a great many good and great men—saints, whom the world delights to honor. We knew him well, and while we were not blind to his faults, we loved and respected the man for his great heart and noble, manly virtues. When the faults of the man shall have been all written down in that book to become forever memorable, as a record of good deeds and bad, we are confident that the bad will be found to be more of the head than of the heart.

In concluding our article, it is proper to say that many old contributors to the *National Quarterly Review* and personal friends of Dr. Sears have kindly furnished us for publication their impressions of him. It gives us pleasure to introduce them in the order in which they were received. The first in this order is from the graceful pen of the gifted and venerable,

MRS. A. LINCOLN PHELPS:

IT is fitting that the contributors to the *National Quaterly Review* should cast their offerings of respect and sympathy upon the untimely grave of its lamented editor, Dr. E. I. Sears.

In 1860 Dr. Sears published the prospectus for a new quarterly magazine. To the writer it seemed to promise for our country something more like the *Edinburgh Review* and *London Quarterly* than any periodical we then had. Having recently retired from the active duties connected with education, and having no literary work on hand, I wrote to Dr. Sears, proposing to send for his first number an article either on education or science; these being subjects to which many years of my life had been devoted. With characteristic promptness and decision, he answered, "Please send me an article on the 'Fine Arts.'"

At first I was amused at the idea. I was not an artist. How could I enlighten others upon the "Fine Arts"? But

I began to reflect that from my early youth I had been studying pictures; that I had been taught drawing and painting in my school days; that as the head of literary institutions, I had been conversant with the instructions of the best professors. I had also been a collector of pictures to some extent, both at home and abroad. In my own library were valuable books on the Fine Arts, and I could supply others as they were needed. I then commenced studying for the article; and the result was, that it passed favorably the ordeal of criticism, and even Boston critics said "the article on the Fine Arts is evidently the work of an artist."

I had written much for the young; that had been my specialty. In writing for men and women, I felt a new expansion of intellect and a new impulse of imagination. And so I continued to write for Dr. Sears for some years; indeed, so late as 1875, he published with approval an article from me upon the absurd claims of the woman's rights party to the ballot, etc.

I have been grateful to Dr. Sears for leading my mind from a beaten track; not but that the abstraction of my mind to education and subjects connected with it, was not necessary in the sphere in which I moved for many years; but when retired from these engrossing pursuits, it was better to follow other and newer trains of thought and action.

To Dr. Sears I am indebted for thus putting me into a new school, where, to some extent, I learned the beautiful art of *journalism* and *reviewing;* to take the cream from both, and to mould this into new forms. For example, if "England under the Stuarts" were the subject, the characters of the James' and Charles' were to be brought out as living and acting, amid associates and scenes which surrounded them, until history should become REALITY. This was the great charm of Macaulay's histories. In many respects the mind of Dr. Sears may be compared to that of Macaulay; and with sorrow I say it, in both there seemed to be a want of the warm religious element; and yet both respected and upheld religion.

Of the literary ability of the late editor of the *National Quarterly Review* it is scarcely necessary to say that it was

known and acknowledged in our own and foreign countries. The articles for the *Review* attest his classical learning and research. As a linguist he seems never at a loss, whether his subject were connected with ancient or modern languages.

For sixteen years Dr. Sears labored ably and manfully, not only writing the principal articles, but sustaining the pecuniary department of an expensive publication; a painful conflict of mental labor which should not be thus associated in the same brain. Here, if anywhere, should be a division of labor. The editor and publisher should not be the same person. In the prime of life the constitution of our lamented friend sank under the weight of his complicated and conflicting labors, dying at the age of fifty-six.

In the course of nature it would have been for him to write my obituary; — he would have done it kindly, perhaps *too partially*.

We trust the *Review* for which he sacrificed his life, will be sustained under the care of his friend, Dr. D. A. Gorton, who, in the December number has given proof of ability to do justice to the great work.

May this *Review* ever maintain the principles of truth and virtue, and never suffer its pages to be sullied by the sophistries of a false science,

"Which leads to bewilder, and dazzles to blind."

With deep sorrow for the untimely death of the late, gifted editor, and with best wishes for the future usefulness and prosperity of the *Review* under its new auspices, I have the honor of being one of the first and probably the eldest of its contributors.

The following brief offering is from the learned writer and mathematician,

DAVID TROWBRIDGE, A. M.:

IT is with feelings of great satisfaction that I have this opportunity of offering a tribute to the memory of so good and so useful a man as Dr. Sears. If I were to repeat all the kind words that he has said, and the expressions of personal

friendship which he has often repeated to me, a person whom he never saw, it would not only occupy more space than the *Review* could spare, but it would not, perhaps, exhibit his real character in so true a light as to speak of his kindness towards me before he knew me so well as he afterwards did, or I had become so well acquainted with the character of his own mind. After our first literary acquaintance, so to speak, had ripened into personal friendship, we learned that our political, scientific, educational, theological, and religious views, were closely in harmony, as well as our contempt for shams of every description, and this might easily account for the kindness which he has, for several years past, shown me.

About eleven years ago Professor Kirkwood sent me a number of the *National Quarterly Review*, containing an article of his on "Lunar Phenomena," and it suggested to my mind the thought of sending to the same periodical an article of mine which I had prepared. I was not altogether unused to writing, but I had never tried a *review* article, having confined my compositions to mathematical and other scientific subjects. Indeed, the one which I sent him was not written for any *review*, but was rather a magazine article. Dr. Sears immediately replied to my letter, informing me what changes should be made, and what parts added, and then he would accept it for publication in his *Review*. I offered him the article free of charge, but he informed me that he did not wish to use the time and talents of any one without paying for them.

Thus, he took me by the hand as it were, and led me into his *Review*, offering me such suggestions, both as to subjects to be selected, style of composition, method of treatment, and material to be used, as he thought proper. Need I add that he never was willing to accept from me any essay or article notwithstanding his own trouble in its preparation, without a suitable compensation?

That Dr. Sears accepted an article for what it was mentally worth, and not for the influence which the name of the author might have on the sale of it, is evident from the fact that the reader was not permitted directly to know the name of the writer till afterwards, and perhaps not then. Here, it appears

to me, Dr. Sears took the correct view of the value of a composition to the public, by throwing it directly upon its own intrinsic merit.

I had a high respect for the man, not only for his strong, independent, and kindly spirit, but also for his rare scholarly acquirements. And in respect of these, I cannot do better than to repeat and endorse the opinion of *The Philadelphia Press*, in a recent issue: "For our own part we can honestly declare that Dr. Sears was not only one of the most learned and scholarly of men, with a thorough knowledge of the classic and modern languages, but that his acquaintance with the literature of America, England, France, Germany and Spain was very great."

May the sphere of literary and educational usefulness, which Dr. Sears so well and so nobly filled, be as ably represented by his successor in the Editorial Chair.

The third contribution in this order is from the versatile pen of

JOHN PYNE, A. M.:

IT is with hesitation that I assume the pen to add my feeble tribute to those of older and better acquaintances of the late Dr. Sears. Nevertheless I am thankful for the opportunity of expressing in a few words at once my admiration of his varied acquirements, and my personal sorrow at his loss.

It is impossible to look over the list of contributions to the *National Quarterly Review* from the pen of Dr. Sears without being impressed with the extent and variety of his information. It will be seen that there is hardly a subject, or class of subjects, which he has not at one time ably treated. History, biography, ethnology, poetry, the drama, literature ancient and modern, language, science and education, are but a few of the subjects handled by his prolific pen, and with a copiousness and fluency which rendered his essays at once the medium of valuable instruction, and a source of intellectual enjoyment. This variety of information, I may add, was

manifested as fully in his conversation as in his writings. Unlike too many literary men, who habitually reserve their thoughts for the press, either from disinclination to the subject, when not undertaken as a matter of business, or from an impression that the marketable value of their ideas would be diminished by permitting them to expand in the social circle, it was always a pleasure to Dr. Sears to converse freely on the subjects which occupied his mind, or the minds of those with whom he held intercourse; and many a fine thought or brilliant anecdote which appeared in the pages of the *Review* have I recognized as having been imparted to me in one of our previous conversations. On these subjects Dr. Sears had none of the churlishness so common to a certain class of authors; nor of the egotism which precludes recognition of other efforts than those of his own brain. On the contrary, I have often known him, when deeply engaged in the preparation of one of his own articles to lay down the pen and enter with me into an animated discussion of some subject to which I was at the time devoting myself;—and to these conversations I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness for many a train of thought originating from his suggestions, and which led me into investigations and discoveries of which, but for him, I should never have conceived the idea. He had travelled extensively and had made a special study from personal observations of the characteristics which identify the peasantry of modern nations with ancestors of a far different clime and soil. At one time he would point out to me the resemblance between the Irish of Tipperary and the Celtiberians of Spain; at another, the traces of ancient Greek customs recognizable among the modern Irish peasantry; and again, the unmistakably Grecian phrases still in familiar use among the French in Marseilles. These were peculiarities which he had verified from personal observation; and his remarks on the subject were illustrated by anecdotes of his own experience which gave them a charm at the time and impressed them indelibly on the memory.

Dr. Sears was a sworn foe of everything like imposition. The able manner in which he exposed and aided to over-

throw the oppressions of the Political Ring in New York must be in the memory of all readers of the *Review*, and has entitled him to the lasting gratitude of all order-loving citizens. In other departments his exertions were equally untiring. To the subject of education his energies were of late especially devoted. He was quick to perceive and prompt to expose the hollow pretensions of those institutions which rely for success on flaming advertisements, exaggerated circulars and a pretentious list of studies, while neglecting the proper means of impressing truth on the youthful minds entrusted to their care. He had little respect for the hot-bed system of instruction; and handled with unsparing severity the *manuals* so popular in modern schools which profess to impart an entire branch of study in the pages of a duodecimo volume. He has often pointed out in forcible language the fact that these manuals, however convenient for the instructor, are, as regards the student, worse than useless—that they are not only superficial, but from the hasty manner in which they are necessarily prepared in most cases, the vehicle of erroneous ideas which subsequent experience will, with difficulty, correct. This work was with Dr. Sears a labor of love. He loved the young. He felt an interest in their welfare, and could not bear to see their intellects perverted while they were yet unable to judge for themselves. His advice to parents and guardians may at all times be read with advantage; and there are many who at this day will recognize with a feeling of gratitude the hand that first taught them to choose the right path from the wrong.

In another department to which Dr. Sears directed special attention recent events have only too forcibly shown the importance of his counsels as well as the foresight by which they were directed. The system of life insurance, which, when properly conducted, is one of the greatest blessings of a nation, has, under modern management, become the source of evils untold. The spirit of speculation, which is peculiarly the bane of our country, has found peculiar scope in the management of insurance companies; and the funds intended as a sacred trust for the benefit of the widow and the orphan, have been made the subject of what may be styled gambling

ventures, for the sole purpose of increasing the salaries of directors and the dividends of stockholders. To conceal the fact, which, if known, would be fatal to the success of the companies, recourse was adopted to the practice of what is called manipulating assets—returning as valuable investments that which was no investment at all, but a simple debt or claim, adding little or nothing to the security of the policy-holders. It was Dr. Sears who first undertook to point out the fallacy of these returns—to show the real character of such items as "premium notes," "deferred premiums," "interest due and accrued," and many others, which companies used to swell the list of their nominal assets; and, what was still more serviceable, put his finger on the companies whose returns showed a large proportion of such items—estimated by careful calculation the real available surplus on which policy-holders, often unused to business, could, with safety, rely—and while thus pricking mere bubbles and probing to the quick the diseases lurking under a fair seeming surface, showed all the more clearly in their integrity the truly substantial companies to whose value he was always ready to bear honorable testimony. Nay, more; he sedulously collected from the reports of our courts all cases in which insurance companies were prominent parties; and by bringing them together made it manifest what companies were actuated by a sincere regard for their duty to their policy-holders, and what, by simple greed of gain and indisposition to pay their just debts.

In the period of disastrous failures with which the past year terminates, many will see cause to bless the memory of the author who warned them in time from the rocks on which others are stranded.

Of the personal qualities of Dr. Sears there are many whose longer and intimate acquaintance will enable them to speak more fully than myself. But I cannot feel as if this humble tribute were complete without some mention of his winning manners, his genial disposition, and his faculty of engaging the affections of all those with whom he was brought into contact. One secret of this lay in his warm Irish heart. He gave his own friendship readily and thus conciliated the

regard of others. There are few among those who enjoyed the privilege of his acquaintance who will not regret him as a personal friend; and when we consider the work that he had already effected, which ceased only with his death, we may feel that the best epitaph which might be chiselled on his tombstone would be the motto of his own *Review:*

"*Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.*"

The fourth and concluding tribute to our subject, giving Dr. Sears' connection with Manhattan College and his characteristics as a preceptor, &c., is from the graceful hand of his personal friend, the

Rev. Brother PAULIAN:

SOON after Manhattan College obtained its charter Dr. Sears assumed the chair of Latin and English literature, and toiled with wonderful will and energy in this new field of labor. So unremitting were his efforts to advance these studies, that the fruits of his endeavors were soon visible in the exceptionally high standard which these branches reached under his watchful care. He loved the old Greek and Latin authors dearly, and constantly strove to inspire his pupils with the same affection for them. His unfailing advice to them was conveyed in those happy words of Horace:

"*Vos exemplaria Græca*
Nocturna versate manu, versate diurna;"

and nothing afforded him greater pleasure than to quote to his class the pithy sayings of the great authors of antiquity, and to comment on the peerless form in which these masters of language knew how to dress their thoughts. Still his mind was multilateral and acquisitive, rather than analytical and exhaustive; which fact coupled with the necessarily varied nature of his avocations did not permit him to hold that intimate relation with the authors of his choice, which intimacy has made them the untiring wraiths of the wise men of Bonn and Berlin.

Dr. Sears' teaching was of the most practical character, and he fully appreciated the advantages of the system of instruction which makes the student give account of the knowledge he has acquired.

Hence he was ever proposing questions to the class, and no student could hope to obtain the verdict of his approval by a mere dilettante attention to his lectures and explanations. Master of the modern languages, he felt that to their daily use in conversation he chiefly owed his knowledge of them, and thus convinced of the advantages of the colloquial system he applied it in the teaching of latin. In accordance with this plan he established a separate class of latin conversation which soon became a marked success in the College. He recommended his students to adhere, so far as possible, to the classical forms of speech, and to select modes of expression and idiomatic phrases from the pages of Livy, Cicero and Sallust, rather than to trust to modern sources of Latinity which he always regarded with a certain degree of misgiving.

Thus the knowledge of the language became as it were, crystallized in the youthful minds, and what was once learned in this way was rarely forgotten.

During all the years of his connection with the College, this class was his chief solicitude; and those students who evinced an aptitude and a desire to excel in this particular, were the recipients of his warmest praises and encouragement. Indeed, even when the cares of the *Review* engrossed his attention and he could no longer interest himself personally in the class, he was far from forgetting its fortunes. He not only paid frequent visits to it, but labored with his pen to found a professorship of Latin. He often assured the managers of the College that his chief ambition in striving to make his *Review* a success, was that he might, with the money thence accruing, promote the cause of education, and first of all to create a permanent chair of Latin in Manhattan College.

His varied and extensive reading enabled him to impart a more than usual interest to his lessons in English literature. He was acquainted with the most obscure as well as with the most distinguished writers in our language, and no matter

how deftly purloined a student might deem a passage or a thought, the unerring eye of the Doctor could detect the plagiarism and refer the culprit to its source. His illustrations, taken from so wide a field, were always apt and pointed, and served to enforce his precepts. And yet he was free from all taint of pedantry and preserved in his speech that same severe simplicity which is so characteristic of his writings. He encouraged his students to speak *extempore* frequently, but not till their thoughts had become systematically fixed in their minds. He felt that in this way alone could they acquire that readiness and dexterity in debate so essential in a country where public affairs are the theme of universal discussion.

Yet was he mindful of the injunction of Quintilian that no one should acquire the pestilent habit of hiding nonsense under a mass of verbiage. Consequently he frowned upon empty declamation, and insisted that each student should have deeply pondered over what he had to say before attempting to embody his ideas in speech. In this way he contrived to add, what Lord Bacon calls the readiness of an extempore speaker to the accuracy and fullness of him who writes and reads. In criticising the essays of the class he did not content himself with a mere general assent or dissent, but analyzed each sentence as he read it; pointed out the improprieties or merits of the style, the soundness or falsity of the sentiments; exhibited defects of taste, gave due meed of praise where deserved, and, in a word, left nothing undone that the student might reap the benefit of a thoughtful and judicious criticism. And that the students themselves might early acquire the rudiments of the difficult art of criticism he appointed them to pass judgment on each others performances and to assign a reason for their opinions.

Thus did the years of his connection with Manhattan College flow on in uninterrupted harmony between himself, the Faculty and the students; and not without regret did he yield to the growing demands of the *Review*, which finally absorbed his whole time. He was courteous to all and patient in a marked degree with the students. He never allowed himself to be betrayed into a hasty expression, and he always wore a

smiling countenance in the class room. Forbearance was not, however, his leading virtue; and he often dipped his pen in vinegar when repelling an assault or ressenting a fancied wrong. This defect in him grew out of the extreme honesty of his character and convictions, for he could not tolerate the malice which to him seemed necessarily to lie at the bottom of every accusation, however frivolous, which was brought against him. A little more lenity in reply would have often saved him trouble; but he seemed, like all critics, to have delighted in shivering a lance with an opponent. Nor was he always free from the petulancy which is so often born of the silly taunts of those who, knowing a man's weakness, delight in assailing it. He thus no doubt penned not a few bitter things which in calmer moments he would have preferred to have left unwritten. His unusual susceptibility to imaginary offence, while it thus brought him into collision with men of distinction who never meant him wrong, was in reality the legitimate outcome of a chivalrous sense of honor, which bristled up at the mere shadow of injustice. Though professing himself a Protestant, his views were of the most liberal sort; and no less a writer than the late Archbishop Spalding has quoted with approbation many passages of the *National Quarterly Review*. He seemed to have had a single eye to the truth; and we believe he never wrote a line under the influence of prejudice, or a narrow, fanatical spirit. Nor would he allow the *Review* to become the organ of a clique or party, but freely offered its pages for the frank and fearless discussion of all important issues. His love of truth, no less than his Celtic impetuosity, served at times to impel him counter to his worldly interests.

It is related of him that having been engaged by the conductors of a very influential magazine to write an article on the condition of Ireland in which all the miseries of that unhappy isle were to be laid at the doors of Catholic Priesthood, so far was he from consenting to such a course he requested entire freedom of action, and this obtained, he wrote a powerful article in which he showed that English misrule was the true cause of Irish troubles, and that the Priesthood of Ireland

was the hope of the nation. It is needless to say he was never after requested to write for that magazine.

His mind was logical, if anything, and his speedy perception of the truth enabled him to arrive at correct conclusions in regard to important matters, while the majority of writers were still floundering in a quagmire of doubt. This was notably the case at the time when the Italian occupation of Rome and Victor Emmanuel's spoliation were occupying men's minds; for not a few Catholic writers overawed by the utterances of the English press, professed to see no injustice in the matter, till Dr. Sears, in a vigorous and eloquent article on the "Temporal power of the Pope," conclusively demonstrated that a glaring wrong had been perpetrated by the usurping Piedmontese government; and that the title of the Popes to their temporal possessions was stronger than that of any crowned head in Europe. It may be said that he took the lead in this discussion in the United States, and his views were warmly applauded by some of the most illustrious Catholic prelates. So marked a feature in his character was respect for historical truth that he never expressed an opinion on matters pertaining to history without buttressing his views with most substantial reasons. This was notably the case in his conversation and lectures in the College. He would never permit his *ipse dixit* to pass current as authority, and the students soon learned to respect his word as synonymous with truth. He was not alone a lover of truth but a fearless exponent of it when circumstances required. This was the occasion more than once of embroiling him in dispute with those to whose opinions and conclusions he took exception; but the Doctor rather courted than shunned opposition, and he most frequently worsted his adversaries.

Of course a man of his temperament could not escape the stinging shafts of calumny; but in the end he triumphed over all his enemies and proved to the world that baseless charges oft recoil on the head of those who prefer them, or at best that they are but a

"*Telum imbelle sine ictu.*"

His extreme gentleness and simplicity of manners endeared him to all those who were associated with him in the College,

and superiors and fellow professors alike held him in high esteem. His articles on the rise and progress of Spanish literature will ever be regarded as highly valuable contributions on this most interesting subject. Indeed, what he has written on the poetry of Spain, though confined within the narrow compass of a few *Review* articles, embraces more correct views and substantial information than some of our much lauded volumes on the same subject. It was not without regret that at last compelled by the necessities of the *Review*, he separated himself from the College, where his memory will long dwell perfumed with the graces of his gentle bearing and chivalrous disposition.

ART. II.—1. *Essays Literary, Moral and Political.* By DAVID HUME. London. 1870.

2. *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations.* By ADAM SMITH. London. 1796.

3. *Traité d'Economie Politique.* Par JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY. Philadelphia. 1830.

4. *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.* By DAVID RICARDO. London. 1846.

5. *Principles of Political Economy.* By JOHN STUART MILL. London. 1867.

THE science of political economy is to society what the science of medicine is to the individual. Like the science of medicine, too, the philosophy of political economy is experimental. In no instance are the truths of political economy established by *a priori* reasoning. They rest on a basis of natural law, and while demonstrable, are not so in the same way that mathematical truths are demonstrable. When we say, for example, that the square of the hypothenuse of a right angle triangle is equal to the sum of the squares of the other two sides, we state a proposition that is demonstrably true; but when we say that all men will die, or that the sun will rise to-morrow, we state a proposition that is not demonstrable, but the truth of which we know, experimentally, in the same manner that a child knows that the flame of a candle will burn its fingers. The child does not reach that conclusion by any process of reasoning, for it is incapable of reasoning; it knows the fact simply by experience.

All reasoning in political economy is reasoning concerning matters of fact. And the science itself is the result of the progress of the human mind in its difficult way from effect to cause; frequently being lured into the devious and treacherous paths of *a priori* reasoning, until it finds itself in the wilderness of pure speculation; thence returning to the safe road of experimental philosophy and pursuing its onward

course, by careful analysis, through all the complexity of concrete social phenomena; eliminating abstract truths in their regular order of sequence, from cause to cause, until it has reached the infinite First Cause, beyond which eternal barrier human reason may not attempt to pass.

Whatever human experience has proved to be true in social phenomena, however inadequate human reason may be to assign the cause thereof, will always be true: whatever human experience has proved to be false, however inadequate human reason may be to assign the cause thereof, will always be false, despite legislative *Whereas* and *Be it Enacted*; and whatever has not been established by experience is empirical.

The ancients contributed little to the investigation of economic science. Aristotle discoursed upon the advantages of money in promoting the division of labor, without which, indeed, there could be no division of labor, and, consequently, no civilization. But Aristotle did not inquire into the laws which govern the value of money: and if he had attempted such inquiry, he would have failed, because the financial experience of mankind did not furnish him data for the task. It was not till modern times, when experimental philosophy, revived by Bacon, had again obtained recognition, that the science of political economy became possible. Locke enunciated an elementary law in respect of money, namely, that its value, whether of paper or coin, is inversely as the quantity multiplied by the rapidity of the circulation; but he made no intelligent explanation of what he meant by rapidity of the circulation, and the mere enunciation of the principle itself appears to be the only contribution of value he made to the science. On the other hand, he fell into the error of *a priori* reasoning in discussing the theory and law of interest, announcing that the rate of interest, other things being equal, was inversely as the volume of the circulation: a proposition which is almost diametrically opposed to the truth, namely, that the rate of interest is not permanently affected by the abundance or scarcity of money, but by that part of circulating capital not consisting of money.* Montes-

* Ricardo. *High Price of Bullion.*

quieu fell into the same error in discussing the law of interest; but he enunciated several important experimental truths without undertaking the analysis of their cause. For instance, he remarks: "It would be an excellent law for all countries, who are desirous of making commerce flourish, to ordain that none but the real (metallic) money shall be current, and to prevent any method from being taken to render it ideal (paper).* And again: "Trade is in its own nature extremely uncertain; and it is a great evil to add a new uncertainty (paper money) to that which is founded on the nature of the thing." And again: "A prodigious quantity of gold and silver is therefore an advantage, when we consider these metals as merchandise; but it is otherwise when we consider them as a sign; because their abundance gives an alloy to their quality as a sign which is chiefly founded on their scarcity."† That is to say, if the circulation be in excess, even though it be of gold and silver, it is a depreciated currency. This is theoretically true, though practically impossible. Hume's essays were the most valuable contributions to political economy that had been made up to his time, and they must have placed Adam Smith under obligations to their distinguished author. Although Smith, in one or two instances only, quoted Hume in his great work, he acknowledges his indebtedness to him in his personal intercourse and correspondence.

Hume's *Essay on Interest* has not been surpassed in completeness or accuracy to this day. It is scarcely necessary to observe that his method is rigidly experimental. He remarked that "All reasonings concerning matter of fact seem to be founded on the relation of *Cause* and *Effect*."‡ And again, "*What is the foundation of all our reasonings and conclusions concerning that relation?* It may be replied in one word: EXPERIENCE." And again: "If we reason *a priori*, anything may be able to produce anything. The falling of a pebble may for aught we know extinguish the sun; or the wish of a man control the planets in their orbits. It is only

* *Spirit of the Laws.* Book XXII, chap. iii. Eng. Tr. † *Ibid.*

‡ *Inquiry Concerning the Human Understanding.*

experience which teaches us the nature and bounds of cause and effect and enables us to infer the existence of one object from that of another." And with reference to the value of money, he remarks: "It is also evident that the prices do not so much depend on the absolute quantity of commodities and that of money which are in a nation, as on that of the commodities which come or may come to market, and of the money which circulates. If the coin be locked up in chests, it is the same thing with regard to prices as if it were annihilated; if the commodities be hoarded in magazines and granaries a like effect follows. *As the money and commodities, in these cases, never meet, they cannot affect each other.*" * The italics are ours. This statement is the nearest approach to the analysis of the principle involved in the rapidity of the circulation which had been made up to that time. Adam Smith, however, gave to the world the first complete work entitled to be considered as a full exposition of the Science of Political Economy. It may be said of Adam Smith, with reference to the natural laws of political economy, as it was said of Blackstone, with reference to the statute laws of England—"He it was that first gave to the law the air of a science. He found it a skeleton, and clothed it with life, color and complexion." In addition to natural power of analysis, Adam Smith was fortunate in his circumstances and opportunities. His access to the Bodleian Library while studying at Oxford, and his course of study at the University of Glasgow, enabled him to store his mind with extensive knowledge. His subsequent residence and occupation at Edinburgh gave him opportunity for study. His professorship at the University of Glasgow enabled him to reside in that large commercial and manufacturing city, all of which greatly assisted him in his favorite study;—while his two years on the Continent of Europe, where he enjoyed the advantage of personal intercourse with public men, among whom were Turgot himself, must have enlarged his mind and imbued his work with those liberal ideas for which it is noted: and the ten

* *Essay on Money.*

years subsequently occupied in the production of his great work, all conspired to render *The Wealth of Nations* the first in rank in the literature of political economy.

Smith's critics have oftener proved themselves in error than overthrown his positions. One, at least, of the most vital principles of the law of currency enunciated by him has remained in almost total obscurity for a century. Even Mr. J. S. Mill could not or did not quite understand it, * and only one writer of good repute † appears to have been impressed with its importance. It is this: "The circulation of every country may be considered as divided into two different branches; the circulation of the dealers with one another (cheques), and the circulation between the dealers and consumers (coin or bank notes). The value (price) of the goods circulated between the different dealers, never can exceed the value (price) of those circulated between the dealers and consumers; whatever is bought by the dealers, being ultimately destined to be sold to the consumers."‡ That is to say: wholesale prices cannot exceed retail prices, and since it is the average wholesale prices which determine the course of international trade, the volume of coin or note circulation, multiplied by the rapidity of the circulation, determines the prosperity of the nation. He spoke of money as "the great wheel of circulation," and considered the money of a nation part of its fixed capital, (although it is at the same time circulating capital) an idea the importance of which strongly impressed Dr. Wayland. ‖ Although Hume's Essay upon The Balance of Trade—the phantasmagoria of politics—had set many absurd notions at rest, yet Smith's analysis of the subject presented many new points. He remarked that the balance of consumption was more important than the balance of trade:

"This balance of produce and consumption is entirely different from what is called, the balance of trade. It might take place in a nation which had

* *Mill's Principles*, Book III, chap. xii, sec. 8.

† Professor Rogers' edition of *The Wealth of Nations*.

‡ Book II, chap. ii.

‖ *The Elements of Political Economy*. Francis Wayland, D. D., pp. 41, 42.

no foreign trade, but which was entirely separated from all the world. It may take place in the whole globe of the earth, of which the wealth, population, and improvement may be either gradually increasing or gradually decaying. * * * A nation may import to a greater value than it exports for half a century, perhaps, together; the gold and silver which comes into it during all this time may be all immediately sent out of it; its circulating coin may gradually decay, different sorts of paper money being substituted in its place, and even the debts too which it contracts in the principal nations with whom it deals, may be gradually increasing; and yet its real wealth, the exchangeable value of the annual produce of its lands and its labor, may, during the same period, have been increasing in a much greater proportion."*

That is to say, a nation may export its coin, or even its interest bearing securities, in exchange for raw material of reproductive consumption, and still be growing rich. Or a nation may be importing coin, or its own or foreign securities, or manufactured commodities of unproductive consumption, in exchange for its own raw materials of reproductive consumption, and still be growing poor. But if a nation should export its coin, and its interest bearing securities, its bank stocks and mortgages on its fixed capital, and its raw materials, in exchange for manufactured commodities of unproductive consumption,† the balance of consumption as well as the so-called balance of trade is against it, and utter bankruptcy and impoverishment of such a nation is only a question of time.

With reference to money, although anticipated by Hume, in theory, he laid down the important law that "The whole paper money of every kind which can easily circulate in any country never can exceed the value of the gold and silver, of which it supplies the place, or which (the commerce being supposed the same) would circulate there, if there was no paper money."‡ That is to say, if the law of distribution of precious metals, as money, throughout the world, prescribed a limit of $200,000,000 gold or silver as its maximum circulation (as it did to the United States previous to the late war) then, commerce being supposed to be the same, only $200,000,000 of gold or silver can be made to remain in circulation; and if gold and

* Book IV, chap. iii.

† This is what the United States have been doing for twelve years.

‡ Book II, chap. ii.

silver be supplanted by paper, then the whole real value of the paper is only $200,000,000, notwithstanding that its nominal value may be (as at present in the United States) $700,000,000.

It is somewhat remarkable that Adam Smith did not perceive the importance of the principle of the rapidity of the circulation as affecting the value of money and the prosperity of a nation, although Locke had announced it, and Hume had emphasized it. Probably he thought the rapidity of the circulation was a normal quantity, which, perhaps, was true under a metallic system in his day.* It should be borne in mind that it is only under a protracted system of inconvertible paper that all the phenomena of the laws of money are disclosed. The data at Smith's hands were very meagre. The North American Colonies had embarked upon the shoreless ocean of Bills of Credit, but the experiment had not developed all its consequences. He remarked that "A positive law may render a shilling a legal tender for a guinea, because it may direct the courts of justice to discharge the debtor who has made that tender. But no positive law can oblige a person who sells goods, and who is at liberty to sell or not to sell, as he pleases, to accept of a shilling as equivalent to a guinea in the price of them."† It was about this time that the Continental Congress resolved that the Bills of Credit ought to pass for the same value as Spanish dollars, and that all persons refusing to take them at this valuation shall be considered enemies to the United States. Smith also observed: "But allowing the colony security to be perfectly good, a hundred pounds payable fifteen years hence, for example, in a country where interest is at six per cent., is worth little more than forty pounds ready money." It is quite true that John Law had—to use the language of Voltaire—"played a desperate game of chance against a whole nation," but no minutely intelligible account of the so-called Mississippi scheme had been or could be written. The affair ran its course in two years, and events chased each other in such rapid succession as to elude even observation. Analysis was out of the question.

* The rapidity of the circulation advances as the civilization advances and as the division of labor is extended.

† Book II, chap. ii.

On the subject of taxation, Smith was very accurate and complete. His able discussion of the subject rests upon four fundamental maxims which are at once comprehensive and just, and "may be said to have become classical:" *

"*First.*—The subjects of every State ought to contribute towards the support of the Government, as nearly as possible, in proportion to their respective abilities; that is, in proportion to the revenue which they respectively enjoy under the protection of the State, &c.

"*Second.*—The tax which each individual is bound to pay ought to be certain, and not arbitrary. The time of payment, the manner of payment, the quantity to be paid, ought all to be clear and plain to the contributor, and to every other person, &c.

"*Third.*—Every tax ought to be levied at the time, or in the manner, in which it is most likely to be convenient for the contributor to pay it, &c.

"*Fourth.*—Every tax ought to be so contrived as both to take out and keep out of the pockets of the people as little as possible, over and above what it brings into the public treasury of the State," &c. †

On the subject of rent he was equally just and comprehensive.‡ In agriculture the word rent he applies to the net produce of the land; in other words, the income yielded by the natural and inherent powers of the soil. The incidence of a tax on land is on the owner, not on the cultivator. The rent on dwellings he divided into two parts, one called the building

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* J. S. Mill. † Book V, chap. ii.

‡"Hume wrote a congratulatory letter to Smith on the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, and it is a curious fact that he pointed out the principal defect in the work. He says, 'I cannot think that the rent of farms makes any part of the price of produce.'" *Ency. Brit.*, Art. *Adam Smith.*

What Adam Smith really said was this: "Rent, it is to be observed, therefore, enters into the composition of price in a different way from wages and profit. High or low wages and profit, are the causes of high or low price; high or low rent is the effect of it. It is because high or low wages and profit must be paid in order to bring a particular commodity to market, that its price is high or low. But it is because its price is high or low; a great deal more, or very little more, or no more, than what is sufficient to pay those wages and profits, that it affords a high rent, or a low rent, or no rent at all."—Book I, chap. xi. The idea, therefore, that Adam Smith considered rent as making price is purely fanciful. It must be admitted, however, that Smith was guilty of a verbal inaccuracy in expressing his meaning. This is only one instance where Smith's critics have misunderstood him. *See* note to Prof. Rogers' edition of *Wealth of Nations.* Vol. I, p. 154.

rent, the other the ground rent: the building rent is regulated by the ordinary rate of interest upon money, and a reasonable profit to the builder. "Where the market rate of interest is four per cent. the rent of a house which, over and above paying the ground rent, affords six, or six and a half per cent. upon the whole expense of building, may perhaps afford a sufficient profit to the builder." * Whatever rent a house yields above a reasonable building rent belongs to ground rent, or, as we should say, is due to advantages of situation. The incidence of a tax on houses is partly on the owner of the ground, but mostly on the occupant, without retribution. This fact should be considered by those reasoners *a priori*, who would impose nearly the whole of the local taxes upon houses, upon the theory of diffusion. † On the subject of international trade, Adam Smith by no means held the extreme views commonly understood by the phrase "Free trade." He opposed the establishment of monoply prices by tariff legislation, and inveighed against all legislation founded upon the antiquated and absurd idea of the so-called balance of trade. And he was indisputably right. Within these limitations he was an intelligent protectionist. He said that capital employed in home trade was much more productive than capital employed in foreign trade by reason of its being turned oftener. He said it was absurd to expect that freedom of trade would be entirely restored in Great Britain. He objected simply to taxes imposed with a view of preventing or diminishing importation.‡ He opposed the Mercantile System because it constantly sacrificed the consumer to benefit the producer, which was an erroneous policy, because consumption is the sole end and purpose of production. ‖

"By the 8th of Elizabeth, chap. 3, the exporter of sheep, lambs or rams, was for the first offense to forfeit all his goods forever, to suffer a year's imprisonment, and then

* Book, V. chap. ii.

† *Vide* Vol II, p. 435, note, Prof. Rogers' Ed. *Wealth of Nations.* Taxes upon the rent of houses.

‡ Book IV, chap. ii. ‖ Book IV, chap. viii.

to have his left hand cut off in a market town upon a market day, to be there nailed up; and for the second offense to be adjudged a felon, and to suffer death accordingly."* Other severe laws were enacted in England for the purpose of protecting woolen manufactures, and Smith justly declared that they were like the laws of Draco, and might be said to be all written in blood. On the other hand he dwelt upon the advantages of manufactures in promoting the division of labor, using his celebrated illustration of pin-making as an example. He laid down the principle that the "division of labor is limited by the extent of the market" as it also is by the amount of capital available for investment in manufacturing industry. He said that "commerce and manufactures gradually introduced order and good government, and with them the liberty and security of individuals among the inhabitants of the country, who had before lived almost in a continual state of war with their neighbors, and servile dependency upon their superiors. This, though it has been the least observed, is by far the most important of all their effects. Mr. Hume is the only writer who, so far as I know, has hitherto taken notice of it."† This declaration of Smith's, philosophical as it was, is a practical concession of the doctrine of protection to manufactures. Within the limits of intelligent action the obligation is peremptory upon every government, and especially that of a democracy.‡ The democratic principle cannot possibly exist in any community where the division of labor does not widely exist.

The *Traité d'Economie Politique* of M. Say ranks, without doubt, next to *The Wealth of Nations*. Ricardo observed of Say that "he was not only the first, or among the first of the continental writers, who justly appreciated and applied the principles of Smith, and who has done more than all the other continental writers taken together, to recommend the

* Book IV, chap. viii.

† Book III, chap. iv.

‡ So long as taxation is employed as an instrument of revenue and not of monopoly, the principle of protection to home industry should be observed. Within these limits protection is sound policy and thoroughly scientific.

principles of that enlightened and beneficial system to the nations of Europe; but who has succeeded in placing the science in a more logical and more instructive order; and has enriched it by several discussions, original, accurate, and profound." * Say reaffirmed most of the important positions of Smith. He remarked of Smith that "the latter had furnished us, also, with the true method of detecting errors; he has applied to political economy the new method of scientific investigation, namely, of not looking for principles abstractedly, but by ascending from facts the most constantly observed to the general laws which govern them. As every fact may be said to have a particular cause, it is in the spirit of system to determine the cause; it is in the spirit of analysis, to be solicitous to know *why* a particular cause has produced this effect, in order to be satisfied that it could not have been produced by any other cause." He reaffirmed the true theory of interest, and remarked that "it was wrapped in utter obscurity until Hume and Smith dispelled the vapor."† He preferred indirect to direct taxation, as being more convenient in practise, but at the same time declared that "taxation was a violation of property, and, when not intended as an engine of national depression and misery, must be proved indispensable to the existence of social order." He explained the benefits of a rapid circulation to production and exchange, but he did not observe its effect on the value of money. He did not perceive that the rapidity with which money circulates was as important a quantity in affecting the value of money as is the velocity of motion in affecting the momentum of a solid body. He originated the important principle that there cannot be a general glut of commodities:

"But it may be asked, if this be so, how does it happen that there is at times so great a glut of commodities in the market, and so much difficulty in finding a vent for them? Why can not one of these superabundant commodities be exchanged for another? I answer that the glut of a particular commodity arises from its having outrun the total demand for it in one of two ways: either because it has been produced in excessive abundance, or

* Preface *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation.*

† Book II, chap. viii.

because the produce of other commodities has fallen short. It is because the production of some commodities has declined that other commodities are superabundant. To use a hackneyed phrase, people have bought less because they have made less profit; and they have made less profit for one of two causes: either they have found difficulties in the employment of their productive means, or these means have themselves been deficient."*

This principle has a forcible application in the present condition of the United States, when the cry of over-production is being raised. The ideal condition of prosperity is that where circulating capital is being rapidly produced and exchanged, and the excess (only the excess) converted into fixed capital. The difficulty is that there is deficient production of some commodities, and unequal distribution of all commodities. There are thousands suffering from want of these very commodities of which there is an alleged over-production. There has been excessive unproductive consumption of foreign commodities; excessive conversion of circulating capital into fixed capital; and excessive taxation on the heels of a devastating war has gathered up circulating capital from all parts of the country, and poured it into the loan market in exchange for purchased bonds, whence it has been taken and sunk in fixed capital.†

He inveighed against public extravagance:

"There is more criminality in public than in private extravagance and profusion; inasmuch as the individual squanders only what belongs to him; but the government has nothing of its own to squander, being, in fact, a mere trustee of the public treasure."‡

He also denounced the abuse of public credit:

"Public credit affords such facilities to public prodigality, that many political writers have regarded it as fatal to national prosperity."‖

On the subject of money he reaffirmed Smith's position:

"The agent of circulation, whether in the form of specie or paper, can never exceed in amount the total utility invested in it."§ "A money of large, is not worth more than a money of small volume; neither is a money of small of less value than one of large volume."¶

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*Book I, chap. xv.

†"Taxation pushed to the extreme has the lamentable effect of impoverishing the individual without enriching the State."—Book III, chap. viii.

‡Book III, chap. vi. ‖Book III, chap. ix. §Book I, chap. xxii.

¶Book I, chap. xvii.

That is to say, if the amount invested in the instrument of circulation in the United States is limited by the law of international trade to $200,000,000 of gold coin, then seven hundred millions of inconvertible legal tender notes are not worth more than $200,000,000 of gold coin. If two hundred millions of paper notes be issued, they will be worth par, if made legal tender, although inconvertible at the public treasury. If $700,000,000 paper units are in circulation, forced circulation, they are convertible by natural law* into $200,000,000 gold coin only, or at the rate of 3½ to 1.

On the subject of paper money M. Say was more satisfactory than Smith. He justified the issue of irredeemable money in gigantic civil or foreign wars, and briefly noticed Law's operations, and the *assignats* issued by the revolutionary government in France. On the subject of international trade he entertained the same views as Smith. He exposed the absurdity of the so-called balance of trade theory, and gave an accurate and complete analysis of the subject. It may be added here that Say was the friend and correspondent of Thomas Jefferson, who was the ablest American statesman upon this great subject. Jefferson had studied *The Wealth of Nations*, and had revised a translation of Destutt Tracy's work on political economy.

The *Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*, and other works by Ricardo enriched the literature of political economy by the most complete analysis of the law of distribution of precious metals throughout the commercial world up to that time. "It is evident," he says, "that a depreciation of the circulating medium is the necessary consequence of its redundance; and that in the common state of the national currency this depreciation is counteracted by the exportation of the precious metals." † This truth is of great importance and is equally applicable to a metallic, a convertible or an inconvertible paper system. He remarked that "While a standard

* Supposing the rapidity of circulation in its normal or prosperous condition.

† *High Price of Bullion.*

is used, we are subject to only such a variation in the value of money as the standard itself is subject to."* Or, in other words, so long as we use gold and silver as a standard, the currency can never be depreciated. There might be a universal fall in the value of silver and gold, but the currency could not be depreciated, because other nations use the same commodity as a standard, and we should not be placed at a disadvantage with them in trade. The currency would be uniform with that of the commercial world, and "the cause of uniformity is the cause of goodness."† "If the trade in the precious metals were perfectly free,—if they were generally used in circulation, even with the expenses of transporting them, the exchange could never in any of them deviate from par more than by these expenses."‡

It is remarkable that Ricardo should have failed to perceive the vital distinction between fixed and circulating capital, and the vast importance of this distinction in political economy. ‖ He erroneously affirmed that a tax on necessaries would fall wholly upon the profits of the employer.§ And his theory of rent is a remarkable instance of the fatality of *a priori* reasoning in political economy. He assumed that land of the highest degree of fertility was first put under cultivation and the necessity which followed of cultivating inferior land in order to supply food as the demand increased, caused rent on the first, inasmuch as the second quality of land must pay the expense of working, and, therefore, the first land would yield what the second land yielded, *plus* what its superior fertility gave. And his theory of rent is founded on this assumption.¶ The fact is that inferior land is first cultivated, until sufficient capital is accumulated to pay for clearing and reclaiming the richer lands, and the net produce of the richer lands is partly

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* *Proposals for an economical and secure currency.* † *Ibid.*

‡ *Taxes on Wages.* ‖ *Principles of political Economy.* Sec. iv.—Value.

§ *Ibid. Taxes on Wages.* This might be the case if the standard of living were already so low, that any further reduction of wages would produce starvation. See also *Mill's Principles—Taxes on Necessaries.*—

¶ *Principles of Political Economy.* Chap. ii.—Rent.

rent, that is, the price paid for the original and indestructible powers of the soil, and partly interest and profit on the capital employed in reclaiming it. It is unfortunate that Ricardo's works are marred by these few defects, and we only allude to them here to illustrate the danger of departing from the *a posteriori* method of reasoning in political economy.

The *Principles of Political Economy* by John Stuart Mill may be considered as substantially completing the structure of this science. The remarkable intellectual discipline to which Mr. Mill was subjected by his father, the latter eminent as a political economist, developed capacity in the pupil to deal with this difficult subject. The elder Mill, it is well-known, was the intimate friend and associate of Ricardo, and political economy was no doubt frequently under consideration between them; possibly, the bond of sympathy. This intimacy, doubtless, accounts for the partiality shown by J. S. Mill towards Ricardo. The work of J. S. Mill, to which we refer, next to *The Wealth of Nations* is the best in the language. As the condition of the science had been advanced in the eighty or ninety years intervening between the two works, Mill's production is consequently more erudite, although in many respects that of Smith stands unrivalled As a work of genius, *The Wealth of Nations* is unapproachable, and is as immortal as the language in which it is written.

Mill drew a sharp distinction between fixed and circulating capital, as Adam Smith had done before him. In his view all increase of fixed capital, at the expense of circulating capital, was injurious to the interests of laborers, as indeed it is to society at large. But he affirmed that it was very unlikely to happen, which is true under a metallic currency, but which is not true when the currency of a nation is depreciated. In the latter case where the currency of a nation is depreciated, the depreciation prevents the production of circulating capital, because circulating capital cannot be produced so cheaply within such nation as in other countries where the currency is sound. Importation of foreign commodities is increased, exportation of domestic commodities is diminished, and thus excessive unproductive consumption of circulating capital is not

only caused, but the owners of circulating capital already existing convert it into fixed capital, because it cannot otherwise yield profits in industry, and because by conversion into fixed capital, that is to say, houses, railways, etc., they are not subjected to foreign competition, for the reason that houses and railways cannot be imported. This is what has been going on in the United States to a very great excess during the past ten years under the influence of a depreciated currency. And the process has only ceased because there is no more circulating capital available. And not only this, but the consumption of circulating capital is still going on in excess of production, as the increasing business failures show, and the field for the circulation of paper money is gradually narrowing, as indicated by the continual depression of prices, (that is to say, the rapidity of the circulation is declining); and the rate of interest is hardening, * notwithstanding the comparatively large amount of gold in the banks. An increase of the circulation must therefore take place, thus temporarily effecting a redistribution of circulating capital, until its further consumption, together with the power of interest and taxation, effects the concentration of the remaining capital again, when a fresh issue of paper money must take place in order to again effect a redistribution. This is the order of sequence in which the law of paper money, when the currency is depreciated, necessitates fresh issues from time to time, until, by some Cæsarean method, the whole paper money is discarded, or until the price of bullion (gold) is regulated in conformity to the volume of paper, and the specie limit of our circulation, which is imposed upon us by the law of distribution of precious metals throughout the world.†

Mr. Mill remarks that "If the sinking or fixing of capital in machinery or useful works, were ever to proceed at such a pace as to impair materially the funds for the maintenance of labor,

* Jan. 2, 1877.

† An inconvertible paper currency, regulated by the price of bullion, would conform exactly in all its variations, to a convertible one. *Mill's Principles.* Book III, chap. xiii.

it would be incumbent on legislators to take measures for moderating its rapidity."*

On the subject of rent Mill is rather brief, and criticises Ricardo with partiality, without adding anything new to a subject already exhausted. On the subject of value he comments upon Adam Smith's distinction of value in use and value in exchange, discussing it briefly and hypercritically. He remarks, what is obvious enough, "That there can be a general rise of prices, but not a general rise of values, value being a relative term. That the money prices of all things should rise or fall, provided they all rise or fall equally, is, in itself, and apart from existing contracts, of no consequence." This is theoretically true, but practically impossible. Money prices do not rise or fall equally, and this important fact is Hume's original contribution to political economy.

Mill devotes a chapter to a summary of the theory of values: *First*, Value is a relative term. *Second*, The temporary or market value of a thing depends on demand and supply. *Third*, Things have a natural value, about which their market value oscillates. *Fourth*, The natural value of some things is scarcity value; in others, cost value. *Fifth*, Those things are at scarcity value the supply of which cannot be increased at all, or sufficiently. *Sixth*, Monopoly value means a scarcity value. *Seventh*, Cost value is the value of any article the supply of which can be increased indefinitely.† He then goes on to an analysis of the cost of production, which is more elaborate than useful. The cost of production of anything is the extent of the sacrifice made in producing it. On the subjec of money, Mill is, perhaps, more satisfactory than any of his predecessors:

"The value of money is," he says, "inversely as its quantity multiplied by what is called the rapidity of circulation. * * * Rapidity of circulation being a phrase so ill-adapted to express the only thing which is of any importance to express by it, and having a tendency to confuse the subject by suggesting a meaning extremely different from the one intended, it would

* This completely justifies the limitation by law of the rate of interest on mortgages upon fixed capital.

† Book III, chap. vi.

be a good thing if the phrase could be got rid of, and another substituted, more directly significant of the idea meant to be conveyed. * * * Until an appropriate term can be devised, we must be content, when ambiguity is to be apprehended, to express the idea by the circumlocution which alone conveys it adequately, namely, the average number of purchases made by each piece in order to effect a given pecuniary amount of transactions." He had previously said: "If each piece of money changes hands on an average ten times while goods are sold to the value of a million sterling, it is evident that the money required to circulate those goods is £100,000."*

The elder Mill† had said substantially the same thing, and, as a mathematical proposition, it is absolutely true. But, nevertheless, the explanation is altogether unsatisfactory, while, at the same time, it appears to be the best that has been offered. Now, the importance of a clear understanding of the meaning of "rapid circulation," as an element in determining the value of money, is too great to allow us to leave the matter involved in such obscurity. We think it would be clearer to say that rapidity of circulation means the number of times a given quantity of goods changes hands while being distributed from the importer or producer to the last consumer,‡ taken together with the rapidity with which consumption follows production: that this again depends upon the extent of the division of labor, and the increase of producing and consuming power arising from the increase of wages, profits and rent. But, in order to make the matter clearer, let us illustrate by example: Suppose an importer of ten thousand chests of tea should undertake to retail that quantity of tea by the pound; manifestly, money would only change hands once in distributing the tea for consumption, and it would be a work of considerable time; there would be no division of labor. But if the importer sold the whole invoice to a jobber, and the jobber distributed to wholesale dealers, and the wholesale

* Book III, chap. viii.

† *Elements of Political Economy*, chap. iii, sec. viii.

‡ A row of ten men passing bricks to each other will move more bricks in a given time than the same number of men taking them from one place to the other; there is more loss of time as well as manual dexterity in the latter case.

dealers to the retailers, and the retailers to the consumers, the tea would pass into consumption more rapidly at a greater price per pound, in order to pay the distributors for their labor and profit on capital employed; the importer would turn his capital at once, and soon have another invoice on the market to be disposed of in like manner, possibly before the jobber had disposed of his last package. This condition of business could only exist where the community was prosperous, where the wages or means of the consumers were so abundant that they could pay a good price, so that the importer, jobber, wholesale and retail dealers would be fully occupied each in his particular part of the business, at a sure profit. In this state of things the division of labor is in its greatest perfection, the circulation rapid, and prices high, because the momentum of a given quantity of money is greater, as it has moved substantially more tea, having changed hands four times instead of once. But if, in consequence of a depreciated currency, imports are excessive, production is retarded, the wages of labor decline, the consuming power of labor is seriously diminished, which not only affects the quantity consumed but the price paid by the consumer; and if, by reason of excessive and unequal taxation, the house rent of the consumer of tea is advanced, the case is aggravated, and the consuming power of labor is still further impaired and a change takes place in the order of consumption.* Less wages are paid; the price of tea declines, till, finally, there is not sufficient profit to divide between the importer, jobber, wholesale and retail dealers, and the jobber begins to import for himself. As the prosperity of the nation continues to decline, the wholesale dealer begins to import for himself, and so on, till finally the retailer will perhaps import for himself, or the importer turns retailer, or the auctioneer steps into the arena. Thus the division of labor is impaired, and the former distributors of tea—if tea it is—are driven to speculation in stocks or to make disastrous investments in railways, buildings or lands, or to invest in government bonds and become consumers, engaging in little industry

* *Vide* on this subject Lauderdale.

beyond that required to detach coupons from interest-bearing bonds. This is the existing condition of things in the United States.

Other nations feel the effect of this anomalous condition of trade, and this is the reason of the prevailing depression abroad. The mutual dependence of nations constituting "The Great Mercantile Republic," to use Adam Smith's phrase, is such that when one suffers from a violation of political economy, all suffer.

Mr. Mill discusses the question of a double standard very briefly. He says: "It appears, therefore, that the value of money is liable to more frequent fluctuations when both metals are a legal tender at a fixed valuation, than when the exclusive standard of the currency is either gold or silver."* This is precisely the contrary of what does actually happen. He says that with a double standard, if one metal should show a tendency to decline in value, debtors would take advantage of that decline, or tendency to decline, and pay in that metal. This is quite true, and this very fact would create a demand for that metal which would in itself prevent the decline; and at the same time it would lessen the demand for the metal that was tending to advance in value and prevent such advance. It did not occur to Mr. Mill that the liberty to pay in either metal is the very principle which preserves uniformity of value. He, unfortunately, commits the fallacy of *a priori* reasoning on this question, and, as is invariably the case, falls into error. The principle involved in the question appears to be this: there is no perfect standard of value. The ideal standard of value is something that represents the average value of all commodities; this being unattainable, a system which represents the average value of the two least changeable commodities would be the next best thing. And if there were still another metal otherwise fitted for the purpose, then a triple standard would be better than a double standard. Perhaps four-fifths of the population of the earth use a silver standard, and if "the cause of uniformity in the

* Book III, chap. x.

medium of circulation is the cause of goodness," * self-interest remits us to the double standard system. Mr. Mill did not, because he could not, adduce any instance from actual experience in support of his position. Could he have done so, his argument would have been scientific. But the most conspicuous instance of the double standard system is overwhelming proof of its goodness. Mill's discussion of credit as a substitute for money, and of the influence of credit on prices is very full, instructive, and with one exception satisfactory; the exception noted will be observed in "*Principles*," where it will be seen that our author does not understand the principle laid down by Adam Smith and already alluded to.†

The chapter upon inconvertible paper money is very instructive, but if our author had had the advantage of observing the phenomena of paper money as it has been disclosed in the United States during the past fifteen years, he would, we believe, have made some modification of his views; while, at the same time, he would have had the painful satisfaction of witnessing the confirmation of the general law of paper money as it had been unfolded by his predecessors and reaffirmed by himself. Mill's proposition that an inconvertible paper currency, regulated by the price of bullion, would conform in all its variations to a convertible one, is thoroughly sound. That is to say, if the minimum of our circulation be $200,000,000, and $700,000,000 paper monetary units are put into circulation, then the price of bullion should be regulated by law so that 3½ of paper shall be exchangeable for 1 of gold: then the irredeemable currency would conform in all its variations to a redeemable one; gold coin would flow indifferently in the channel of circulation in this ratio, side by side with paper; the specie standard of the nation would be preserved, and the prosperity of the people so far assured. But he warns against "the possibility of fraudulent tampering with the price of bullion for the sake of acting on the currency." He did not imagine that a Government could—not fraudulently, but openly—tamper with the price of bullion for the

* *Ricardo. Ut supra*, p. 260. † *Ut supra*, p. 251.

sake of acting on the currency. It has been reserved for the people of the United States to see their Minister of Finance

> "Dress'd in a little brief authority,
> Most ignorant of what he's most assured,
> His glassy essence—like an angry ape,
> Play such fantastic tricks before high Heaven,
> As make the angels weep."

Mr. Mill exposes the absurdity of the idea that a currency (circulation) cannot be issued in excess so long as it rests upon a foundation of real property; "for if the property cannot be claimed in exchange for the notes, it is difficult to divine in what manner its mere existence can serve to uphold their value." * Hence the absurdity of what Ricardo called an abstract currency, or a currency without any specific standard; hence the absurdity, too, of the expression of "coining land into money," or of attempting to secure the redemption of bank notes by depositing bonds. It would be somewhat ludicrous for a note holder to demand the redemption of a one dollar note in land, or bonds. The principle herein involved we should formulate thus:—Money being *circulating* capital, the redemption of notes payable in coin on demand cannot be secured by a pledge of *fixed* capital. The obvious truth of this proposition excites surprise that Ricardo should fail to see the vital importance of the distinction between fixed and circulating capital. Mill speaks of the fallacy of the idea that the issue of inconvertible currency quickens industry, and unjustly imputes the origin of the idea to Hume, who expressly remarks that he entertained "a doubt concerning the benefit of banks and paper credit, which are so generally esteemed advantageous to every nation." †

Hume said in substance this: that gold and silver being real wealth, it stimulated industry and prosperity while it was finding its way into circulation; that while passing into circulation, more or less of it stuck to the fingers, if we may so speak, of the people, on its way; and if it could not be retained in circulation it could be exchanged for

* Book III, chap. xiii. † *Essay on Money.*

commodities. The acquisition of gold and silver is as substantial a gain to a community, when we consider these metals merchandise, as the acquisition of other commodities the use of which contribute to the comfort or industrial activity of man. Mill also enlarges upon and elucidates the idea of the impossibility of a general glut of commodities, which principle originated with M. Say. On international trade, international values, foreign exchanges, distribution of the precious metals throughout the commercial world, influence of currency on foreign trade, and cognate subjects, Mr. Mill is peculiarly felicitous, departing in no essential point from the principles laid down by his eminent predecessors already reviewed. He formulated the law of international trade thus:—"The equation of international demand is the law of international trade." We might suggest a more intelligible formula, namely: The equation of the average of international metallic prices is the law of international trade, anything in the tariff laws of any nation to the contrary notwithstanding.* He advanced one principle in the analysis of the law of international trade which had escaped the observation of his predecessors, and which is of great importance to the United States in the present crisis:

"Before closing this discussion," he says, "it is fitting to point out in what manner and degree the preceding conclusions are affected by the existence of international payments not originating in commerce and for which no equivalent either in money or commodities is expected or received; such as a tribute, or remittances of rent to absentee landlords or of interest to

*When the distribution of precious metals throughout the commercial world is perfect, that is to say, when average metallic prices throughout the commercial world are equal, then international trade settles to a trade of barter, and there is no transmission of money either way: this condition is, however, purely ideal, and this observation is made only for the purpose of illustrating the law of international trade. Manifestly, any nation producing the precious metals must inevitably export the same, unless they are consumed in the arts, or hoarded out of circulation where they cannot affect prices; for if they are put into circulation as money, they affect metallic prices by raising them above the international average, and they must then flow out till the international average of metallic prices is re-established within this particular nation.

foreign creditors, or a government expenditure abroad, such as England incurs in the management of some of her colonial dependencies." *

For instance, the United States have now a large interest account abroad which did not exist previous to our late civil war. What is the effect of this? Mr. Mill answers the question thus:

"If, before the country became liable to the annual payment, foreign commerce was in its natural state of equilibrium, it will now be necessary for the purpose of effecting the remittance, that foreign countries should be induced to take a greater quantity of exports than before: which can only be done by offering those exports on cheaper terms, or in other words, by paying dearer for foreign commodities. The international values will so adjust themselves that either by greater exports or smaller imports, or both, the requisite excess on the side of exports will be brought about; and this excess will become the permanent state." †

Now, the application of this principle is as follows: the equation of international demand before the war required an annual payment of coin and bullion of nearly $50,000,000; other things being equal, the annual payment of coin or bullion now required would be $50,000,000 *plus* the interest account, say $100,000,000. But if we have not the coin or bullion necessary to effect this payment, what then? Simply this: Coin must flow out to a degree sufficient to lower average metallic prices within the country, so that by importing less commodities, and exporting more commodities we can make settlement in that way; the result of which is that $200,000,000 coin being the limit of our circulation before the war, it must, other things being equal, be somewhat less now.

On the subject of interest Mill simply reaffirmed what had been previously settled by his predecessors. His chapter on the regulation of a convertible currency is, perhaps, the most important of all. He commences by commenting upon the fact that certain theorists claim:

"That banks of issue universally, or the Bank of England in particular, have a power of throwing their notes in circulation, and thereby raising prices arbitrarily; that this power is only limited by the degree of moderation with which they think fit to exercise it; that when they increase their issues beyond the usual amount, the rise of prices, thus produced, generates a

* Book III, chap. xxi, sec. iv. † Book III, chap. xxii.

spirit of speculation in commodities, which carries prices still higher, and ultimately causes a reaction and recoil amounting in extreme cases to a commercial crisis; and every such crisis which have occurred in this country within mercantile memory, has been either originally produced by this cause, or greatly aggravated by it. And he quotes Tooke in refutation of this theory to the effect that 'In point of fact, and historically, as far as my researches have gone, in every signal instance of a rise or fall of prices, the rise or fall has preceded, and therefore could not be the effect of, an enlargement or contraction of the bank circulation.'"

This is quite in accordance with the principle enunciated by Adam Smith which we observed Mr. Mill did not understand, and which it now appears Mr. Tooke did not comprehend. Mr. Tooke's observations were directed to wholesale market prices, and upon Smith's principle their rise must necessarily follow increase of deposits and precede increase of circulation, and the rise of retail prices follow the enlargement of circulation. Retail prices could not be advanced in order to meet the advance in wholesale prices, unless the volume of the circulation or the rapidity of the circulation were increased. At the commencement of the inflation probably an increase of both the volume and rapidity of the circulation is essential to a general increase of retail prices. Col. Robert Torrens, who distinguished himself in defending the celebrated Act of Sir Robert Peel, takes exception to the statement of Tooke and Fullarton, that the rise of prices precedes increase of circulation. The difficulty appears to be that none of the above mentioned authors makes a distinction between wholesale and retail prices. When the currency depends upon the movements of the banks of issue and discount, Tooke and Fullarton are right, and Torrens, wrong. When government issues are put into forced circulation, Torrens is right, and Tooke and Fullarton, wrong. Tooke remarked that he had heard an observation which he thought had some foundation in truth, that the effect of an increased circulation is first perceived in an advance of the funds, and other securities bearing interest, before they can be traced to the prices of commodities.* This remark is applicable to bank deposits, but not to bank circu-

* *Considerations on the State of the Currency*. 2d Ed., pp. 23-24.

lation: it may also be applicable to a forced circulation of bills of credit.

Col. Torrens has most ably defended that great triumph of legislation,* which has been and will continue to be assailed by those who do not understand either the Act itself or the principles upon which it is founded. He thus clearly and accurately states the principles in conformity with which the Act of 1844 is framed.

"*First.*—That the amount of a strictly convertible currency, which it is practicable to maintain, is determined, not by legislative enactments or by banking regulations, but by the natural law of equilibrium by which the precious metals are distributed throughout the commercial countries of the world.

"*Second.*—That when, from any temporary cause, the amount of a mixed currency of coin and convertible notes exceeds the amount determined by the law of equilibrium, the level is restored by the return of a portion of the note circulation upon the issuer in exchange for specie.

"*Third.*—That when from any temporary cause the amount of a mixed currency of coin and convertible paper falls short of the amount determined by the law of equilibrium, the ordinary level is restored by an influx of the precious metals. From these principles it follows, as a necessary corollary, that when that portion of the note circulation which may be issued upon securities, is fixed below the amount to which, under the law of equilibrium, the currency must conform, that portion of the bank note circulation will not be returned upon the issuer in exchange for treasure; and that, except in cases of drain from domestic panic, there will always be retained in the coffers of the issuing body, a reserve of gold equal to the difference between the fixed amount of the circulation unrepresented by bullion, and the actual amount determined by the law of equilibrium." And he goes on to say: "Such being the principles upon which the Act was founded, it became incumbent upon those who were concerned in forming it, to ascertain, by a careful reference to past experience the minimum amount below which, in recent times, the circulation of the Bank of England had never been reduced."

Col. Torrens then shows that by the report of the Select Committee upon Banks of Issue (1840 App. 12) the bank notes in circulation in December, 1839, (Bank Post Bills not included) was £14,732,000; the minimum reserve of notes kept by the Bank against deposits being £2,000,000 additional; and putting the two sums together we have £16,732,000. Therefore, £14,000,-

* *Peel's Act, explained and defended.*

000 are permitted under the Act as being the minimum of notes that would remain in circulation without being returned upon the Bank for specie, and therefore it was safe beyond contingency to issue £14,000,000 on the security of Government stock. "The correctness of these views have been fully borne out by experience. Theory has been verified by fact."

"Not only has the Act of 1844 secured the convertibility of the note circulation, but that the limitation of the issues of the Bank upon securities to £14,000,000, while imparting to the circulation a degree of steadiness greater than it before possessed, has had the effect of maintaining the circulation at a higher average level than that which was maintainable under the alternate expansions and contractions of the former law."

We have thus set forth at length the scientific principles which underlie the Act of 1844; and so long as British law can be enforced in the British kingdom, the Bank of England notes cannot become inconvertible. It is only when the consequences of bad management in the banking department of the Bank of England are being visited upon the community, that it becomes necessary to suspend the Act in order that inconvertible paper may be issued. We should say that the large joint stock banks of London ought to be obliged by law to maintain a reserve of *circulating capital* in their own vaults, not in the form of cotton, or corn, because these may not always be marketable, but in the form of sovereigns which are always marketable. These banks would then be less disposed to underbid the Bank of England in the discount market. It is a fact that the Bank of England is underbid in the discount market which makes it onerous for her to maintain a sufficient reserve of bullion to sustain herself and all the banks that lean upon her. And the rate of interest is not advanced sufficiently or in time to prevent the contagion of fear from seizing the community, which, when it has taken place, makes it necessary to suspend the Act of 1844, thus giving the *power* to issue inconvertible notes.

A more conservative action has been noticed by the Bank of England since the payment of the French indemnity to Germany, and since the substitution of gold for silver coinage

by Germany. It is quite true that the Suez Canal route to Asia renders the time much shorter in which circulating capital in the form of merchandise is kept afloat. That is to say, the use of this route, instead of the Cape route, quickens the rapidity of the circulation; which makes it safer to economize in the amount of cash reserve, than was otherwise possible. The Transatlantic and India cables act powerfully in the same direction. It is to be hoped that the British people will resist every attempted invasion of the principles underlying the Act of 1844, and that the Act itself will survive as a monument to commemorate the fame of the great statesman by whose name it is commonly known.

Mr. Mill rests his discussion of taxation upon the four celebrated maxims laid down by Adam Smith. He points out what he considers to be an error of Adam Smith, which had previously attracted the attention of Ricardo, with reference to a tax on wages; he does not favor an income tax, neither does he strenuously urge his not very forcible objections thereto; he thinks an income tax should be reserved as an extraordinary resource in a great national emergency. If taxation were in other respects equal, there is much wisdom in this opinion. Taxes on necessaries, he says, either lower the condition of the laboring class, or fall on the profits of the employers. They lower the condition of the laboring class, unless it has already sunk so low that increase in population is checked. He compares direct and indirect taxes with great fairness, without committing himself exclusively to either, and he does this in a spirit of humanity. On the whole, this portion of his work is satisfactory. He does not favor the maintenance of high taxation for the purpose of reducing a public debt. On the subject of "protectionism" Mr. Mill takes an English rather than a scientific view, although he concedes the soundness of the doctrine on "principles of political economy" in the case of a young and rising nation. He does not notice the important difference between what Smith called the balance of consumption, and the so-called balance of trade; nor does he appear to have considered the favorable political consequences of a wisely extended division

of labor. He justly condemned and exposed the Mercantile System. He briefly discusses usury laws, and condemns them, but not, as appears to us, upon scientific grounds. We should object to usury laws on the ground that, money being circulating capital, there should be no restriction on short time loans of money upon the security of other circulating capital, namely merchandise, or, what is the same thing, commercial paper. We think that a law of Congress exempting from the operation of the usury laws of any State all loans upon the security of circulating capital, running not longer than three months, would be most desirable. Such a statute would be quite within the scope of the Constitution, as it would be an exercise of the power to regulate commerce between the States. On loans of money (circulating capital) upon the security of fixed capital, that is to say, upon the security of land, buildings, machinery, ships, and whatever may come into the category of fixed capital, the rate of interest should be limited by law, so that evasions could not take place by assignment or otherwise.

From the foregoing examination of our authors, it will be seen that the science of political economy does not rest upon the unstable foundation of metaphysical inquiry, in which everything is unsettled, and little positively known; that it deals with the commercial laws of human society, as chemistry deals with the physical laws of matter; that, in the whole realm of science, it is preëminently humane; for "economic ignorance, when it has conceived, brings forth socialism, and socialism breeds despotism, and despotism, when it is finished, issues in war, misery, and ruin." * We need no more forcible illustration of the wisdom of Professor Cairnes' remarks than that of the French Revolution, so familiar to all readers of history. †

That the present deplorable condition of the industry of the United States is largely due to the most extraordinary, and, considering the present advanced stage of science, inexcusable violations of the laws of political economy, there is no

* J. E. Cairnes' *Essay on Political Economy and Laissez-faire.*

† *Vide* De Tocqueville's *Old Régime*, etc.

doubt. The dilemma in which the nation is involved is this:

1. We have about seven hundred millions of paper money in circulation, which are not convertible into metallic monetary units of the present standard. Or, to be exact, the tables below, furnished us by the Hon. Comptroller of the Currency, shows the outstanding circulation, December 30, 1876, of the national bank notes to be as follows:

	Number.	*Amount.*
$1s	3,167,095	$3,167,095 00
2s	940,621	1,881,242 00
5s	19,392,682	96,963,410 00
10s	9,614,632	96,146,320 00
20s	3,220,638	64,412,760 00
50s	465,351	23,267,550 00
100s	309,141	30,914,100 00
500s	2,504	1,252,000 00
1,000s	343	343,000 00
Added for fragments, etc.		9,277 50
Outstanding,		$318,356,754 50

And the amount of the legal tender notes outstanding January, 1, 1877, to be as follows:

1s	$29,011,141 70	
2s	28,875,659 80	
5s	49,236,496 50	
10s	67,486,213 00	
20s	66,023,893 00	
50s	33,469,830 00	
100s	26,444,850 00	
500s	32,025,500 00	
1,000s	34,481,500 00	
		$367,055,084
Deduct for unknown denominations destroyed in Chicago fire,		1,000,000
Net outstanding,		$366,055,084

2. These monetary units cannot be withdrawn from circulation until the price of gold is advanced to such a point that it will flow in the channel of circulation side by side with the paper that remains at a certain fixed ratio.

3. They cannot remain as they are, at the low *agio* which

has prevailed since 1864, without being augmented from time to time by fresh issues, otherwise the people will starve.

Now, according to the principles laid down by Adam Smith, we have seen that the currency of a nation consists of coin and notes and cheques; that since wholesale prices cannot exceed retail prices, the momentum of cheques must not only be no greater but must be somewhat less than the momentum of the coin and notes, because retail prices exceed wholesale prices; otherwise the retail dealers would make no profit. And we have already shown that average wholesale prices of commodities as estimated in the metallic money of the commercial world cannot permanently exceed the average wholesale metallic prices throughout the commercial world; that when average wholesale metallic prices within the nation do exceed average wholesale metallic prices throughout the commercial world, excessive importation of commodities results as the effort of the natural law of international trade to restore the equilibrium; that this effort of the natural law of international trade is unremitting so long as the equilibrium is disturbed, and that under these circumstances excessive importation of commodities will go on, until one of two things happens, namely; either the metallic equivalent of the circulation must be reduced, by exportation of coin, if the circulation consist of coin and convertible notes; or by a rise in the price of coin or bullion, if the circulation consist of irredeemable paper money, until the equation of average metallic prices is established; or, the rapidity of the circulation must decline, until the equation of average metallic prices is reached. And we have also shown that the decline of the rapidity of the circulation means national bankruptcy, a condition to which the United States are being reduced. The destruction of the mercantile marine which is going on; the decline in value of railway property; the fall of the value of land and buildings; the destruction of the profits of business;* the decline in

* Though there were no distress in any particular branch—though agriculture, manufactures and commerce were carried to a greater extent than they have ever been carried before—though a nation have numerous, powerful, and well appointed armies and fleets, and the style of living among the

the wages of labor, and the increasing number of unemployed; the large and increasing number of business failures; the failures of savings banks, and life insurance companies, which must inevitably go on until all the circulating capital is consumed; all these facts are mournful evidence of the decline in the rapidity of the circulation; and it is inevitable until the equilibrium of metallic prices throughout the commercial world is established.

And we have shown, also, that the decline in the rapidity of the circulation must necessarily be accompanied by fresh issues of paper money from time to time.

The following list of failures in the United States since 1863, kindly furnished us by Messrs. Dun, Barlow & Co., of New York, is peculiarly significant in this connection:

YEAR.	NUMBER.	AMOUNT.
1863	495	$7,899,000
1864	520	8,579,000
1865	530	17,625,000
1866	1,505	53,783,000
1867	2,780	96,666,000
1868	2,608	63,964,000
1869	2,799	75,054,054
1870	3,546	88,242,000
1871	2,915	85,252,900
1872	4,069	121,056,000
1873	5,183	228,499,000
1874	5,830	155,239,000
1875	7,740	201,000,000
1876	9,092	191,118,840

We therefore see that the alternative of universal ruin, possibly of civil war, is to reduce the metallic equivalent of

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higher classes be more than ordinarily sumptuous—still, if the rate of profit have become comparatively low, we may pretty confidently affirm, that the condition of such nation, how prosperous soever in appearance, is bad and unsound at the bottom; that the plague of poverty is secretly creeping on the mass of the citizens; that the foundations of her greatness have been shaken; and that her decline may be anticipated, unless measures be devised for relieving the pressure on her national resources, by adding to the productiveness of industry, and, consequently, to the rate of profit.—*McCulloch's Principles of Political Economy*, p. 110.

our circulation to the point at which, with a rapid circulation, it will represent the amount which is allotted to us by the law of distribution of precious metals throughout the commercial world.

The object of our inquiry is, in the first place, to ascertain by reference to past experience, what the metallic value of the limit of circulation was at the time the nation departed from the metallic standard and launched forth upon the sea of irredeemable paper money. It may be desirable at this point to emphasize the fact that experimental knowledge only is of value in this investigation, and the experimental knowledge must be confined to our own case. It must not be assumed that because England or France may have so much circulation, we can have so much. We must obey the law of our own body. We herewith present in order the actual figures:

Year. January.	Number of banks.	Circulation.	Deposits.	Net specie movement export, fiscal year ending June 30.
1854,	1,298	$204,689,207	$188,188,744	$34,478,272
1855,	1,307	186,952,223	190,400,342	52,587,531
1856,	1,398	195,747,950	213,705,662	41,587,852
1857,	1,416	214,778,822	230,351,352	56,675,123
1858,	1,422	155,208,344	185,932,049	33,358,651
1859,	1,476	193,806,818	259,568,278	57,517,708
1860,	1,562	207,102,477	253,802,129	57,996,104
1861,	1,601	202,005,767	257,229,562	
		$1,559,791,608	$1,778,178,119	
	Average,	$194,973,951	$222,272,265	

The total population in 1850, 23,191,876; 1860, 31,445,080.* Decennial increase, 1850, 35.87 per cent; 1860, 30.68 per cent. These figures are exceedingly instructive as verifying important laws of economic science.

It appears that the circulation averaged less than two hun-

* *National Almanac* 1867. We take the period from 1854 to 1861, because at the commencement the social phenomena had recovered steadiness from the disturbance caused by the irruption of gold from California, and at the close it had not yet felt the disturbance of the war.

dred millions for the eight years; and we observe here that the circulation was full to overflowing because we exported specie, more than we imported, to the yearly average of nearly $50,000,000. And it must be also observed that the banks issued notes of the denomination of one, two, three and five dollars, so that, as we have said, the circulation was full and overflowing.*

It also appears that the average circulation for the first four years was $200,542,050, against $189,405,851, for the latter period. These facts verify this important principle of political economy, namely, that under a metallic standard, the proportion borne by money to commerce is constantly diminishing, because the rapidity of the circulation is constantly increasing. While under a depreciated currency of irredeemable paper money these phenomena are reversed, and the volume of circulation is increasing, while the rapidity of the circulation is declining. It must be observed that the actual decline in the rapidity of the circulation under a depreciated currency *may* be going on at the same time with its *potential* increase. We mean by this that more railways may be building, more telegraph lines in course of operation, and more economies in the use of money instituted, while the rapidity of the circulation is actually declining. It will be observed that we make no account of the fractional currency, because it is an unknown, normal, and self-regulating quantity, and because it is not concerned in the discussion, since retail prices are limited by the momentum of the monetary units. The fractional circulation did not, probably, exceed five per centum of the total circulation. It will also be observed that we do not consider that there were any metallic monetary units in actual circulation to an extent that requires any allowance therefor. It is a well established law of political economy that the inferior medium drives out of circulation the superior medium; and we have already shown that the circulation was crowded with small notes. We do not pretend to say that gold coin may not occasionally have been

* See Webster's Works, Vol. III, p. 399.

passed in payment, or carried in the pocket, or put away against the possible contingencies of the future, or hoarded from purely selfish motives. We are keeping within the requirements of economic laws, and are bound to consider that gold coin formed no appreciable part of the permanent circulation. The competition of fifteen hundred banks of issue for the profits of circulation would not admit coin into the circulation.

We have thus shown that for the eight years immediately preceding January, 1861, the quantity of metallic money allotted to us by the law of distribution of the prcious metals throughout the world, did not exceed, in round numbers, two hundred millions of coin of the present standard, or what is, for the purpose of this discussion, the same thing, of bank notes convertible into coin on demand. That is to say, the amount of capital invested in "the great wheel of circulation" did not exceed $200,000,000 of the present standard of $25\frac{8}{10}$ grains each, making a gross total of about 895,833 pounds Troy weight, standard gold.* It also appears that this was a rather diminishing, at all events, not an increasing quantity.

It is important to consider therefore what, if anything, has taken place since January, 1861, to change this limit imposed upon us by the law of distribution of precious metal throughout the commercial world. Does the increase of population, or the increase of business operate to increase the limit? Upon principles of political economy, we must say, No! We have already seen that while the decennial increase of population in the decade 1850 to 1860 was 35.58 per cent. yet, notwithstanding, the circulation had diminished, if anything, and unless

* "England, in its actual state, requires, for the effectuation of its sales and purchases, an agent or medium equal in value, say to 1,284,000 pounds weight of gold; or, what is the same thing, to 1,200,000,000 pounds weight of sugar; or, what is the same thing, to 60,000,000 pounds sterling of paper, taking the Bank of England paper at 30,000,000 and the paper of the country banks at as much more. This is the reason why the 60,000,000 of paper, though destitute of intrinsic value, are, by the mere want of a medium of exchange, made equal in value to 1,284,000 pounds weight of gold, or 1,200,000,000 pounds weight of sugar."—M. Say, book I, chap. xxi, 1803.

the potential increase of the rapidity of the circulation has been less since 1861 than before that period, we must say again, No! But it is altogether likely that the potential increase of the rapidity of the circulation has been greater since 1861 than in any similar period previous. Railway and telegraph construction was never so extensive. Centralization of population, and the consequent economies in the substitution of credit for money have never been so palpable: and these are the criteria by which we are to judge. Does the abolishment of slavery operate to increase the limit? Clearly not. We are considering the instrument which circulates the products of the people, and unless they have increased more rapidly than they otherwise would, this fact cannot justify the expectation of increase of the limit. It is altogether probable that the effect of the abolishment of slavery is in the opposite direction, as it has most likely altered the distribution of the circulation, thus actually increasing the potential increase of the rapidity of the circulation.

After a careful survey of the field of possibilities, we are obliged to say that, upon principles of political economy, there is no possible increase of the limit of the circulation. On the other hand, we must remark that we have a large foreign interest account, the amount of which we shall not attempt to compute, especially as, apart from deductions due to defaults of interest and absence of dividends, it is constantly increasing. The effect of this foreign interest account has already been fully discussed and we shall not enter again into the qusestion; it only needs to be said that it operates immediately, directly and powerfully to reduce the ante-war limit of circulation. If, then, we are limited by the natural law of intertional trade, and of the natural law of distribution of precious metals throughout the commercial world to a sum *less* than $200,000,000 in coin or its equivalent in paper, it is a stupendous piece of folly to attempt to maintain $700,000,000 of paper monetary units convertible each into coin of the present standard.

The question then arises, can the paper monetary units be gradually withdrawn from circulation until the entire volume

is reduced to less than $200,000,000? We have remarked at the outset that political economy is an experimental science; that whatever human experience has shown to be true will always be true; whatever human experience has shown to be false will always be false; and upon well established principles of political economy, we repeat that the idea of withdrawing from circulation even a small portion of the paper money with which the country is flooded is stupendous folly. *

There are, nevertheless, those, who upon the purely, *a priori*, method of reasoning have been vexing the executive and legislative departments of the government, harrassing the the community, and occupying the columns of the press in trying to show that they have invented a method by which they can evade the inevitable course of nature. These theorists say that by offering a bond bearing a certain rate of interest, (it matters not whether four or forty per cent.,) and running for a considerable term of years, the holders of the paper monetary units will exchange them for bonds until the requisite reduction in the volume of the circulation is brought about. We believe this is a fair statement of the proposition, and the proposition itself is perfectly intelligible. The advocates of this scheme do not cite any precedent in support of their views, for there is no instance in history of such a scheme ever having been carried out; and upon principles of political economy this fact alone is sufficient to condemn it Nor do they cite any of the standard authors in support of their proposition, because the standard authors, with the exception of Tooke, have nowhere discussed it even for the sake of exposing its palpable fallacy.

The nearest approach to anything of the kind was made by Ricardo, who at one time proposed that the Bank of England † should reduce its circulation in the manner usually adopted by banks, namely, by curtailing her discounts; but he afterwards retracted his words.‡ And the Court of Directors of

* Unless the market *agio* is increased to correspond with the real *agio*.

† During the restriction upon cash payments.

‡ This was contraction of bank circulation as distinguished from funding government paper money, operations essentially different and opposed to each other.

the Bank of England at a meeting held May 20, 1819, reported that

"When it is proposed that they shall effect this measure within a given period by regulating the market price of gold by a limitation of the amount of the issue of bank notes, with whatever distress such limitation may be attended to individuals or the community at large, they feel it their bounden and imperious duty to state their sentiments thus explicitly in the first instance of his Majesty's Ministers, on this subject, that a tacit consent and concurrence at this juncture may not, at some future period, be construed into a previous implied sanction on their part, of a system which they cannot but consider fraught with very great uncertainty and risk. * * * They cannot venture to advise an unrelenting continuance of pecuniary pressures upon the commercial world, of which it is impossible for them either to foresee or estimate the consequences."*

Mr. Tooke indeed noticed the theoretical idea of funding the circulation of the Bank of England—which, so far as we know, was never put into a distinct proposition—for the purpose of demolishing it, which he did in these words:

"If the Bank had offered its annuities for sale, with a view to contract its issues, the very first step towards that object would have counteracted itself. The extended issue produced the rise in price; a contraction would, of course, depress it."†

It was only by the total destruction, by accidental causes, of a large portion of the country bank notes, that the standard was violently raised, thus substantially vindicating Cobbett's view.

We have devoted more space to this branch of our inquiry that we otherwise would have done, had not the dogma of contraction or funding been the chief method devised by our finance ministers and writers, as a means of escape from the evils complained of. It illustrates the proverb that "a little knowledge is a dangerous thing." It is charitable to suppose that these theorists do not fully realize the consequences to which their method leads. Their zeal outruns their discretion in the service of a class interest. We desire to dispose of their fallacy by repeating that the amount of circulating capital invested in "the great wheel of circulation" in this country,

* *Vide Appendix A*, McCulloch's Ed. of *Ricardo's Works*; also, *History of Bank of England.*

† *Considerations on the state of the Currency.* Tooke. 2d Ed. p. 76.

is, according to the average metallic prices throughout the commercial world, and in the normal condition of the rapidity of the circulation, something less than $200,000,000 of coin of the present standard, and that at present "the great wheel of circulation" is composed of about $700,000,000 paper monetary units, and that this paper cannot be taken out of "the great wheel of circulation," unless circulating capital, in the form of what the commercial world recognizes as money, that is to say, gold or silver, is immediately put in its place; that with $700,000,000 paper and the agio at 10, the metallic equivalent of this paper is more than 600,000,000 of gold or silver coin; that, consequently, gold or silver coin cannot come in circulation when there is already in the circulation more than three times the quantity (or its equivalent) that is allotted to us by the law of distribution of precious metal throughout the commercial world; that, consequently, the price of coin and bullion must be advanced, by the government entering into the market as a purchaser, or in some other way, until the total paper in circulation shall represent in coin or bullion something less than $200,000,000 of the present standard, and conversion established at the Treasury at this rate; that then the paper monetary units can be withdrawn gradually, say to the extent of our surplus bullion product, because metallic money will flow into the circulation as paper is taken out. This money, it seems to us, is the only scientific solution of the dilemma in which the nation is involved. Preliminary to entering or during the process of entering upon this adjustment, the national bank notes should be retired, and Bills of Credit put in their place; the National Bank Act repealed, and banks of discount and deposit organized under State laws without circulation, and, therefore, without the profit of circulation as in the case of the Bank of England.

There is much in our colonial experience which justifies the views herein advanced. The Colony of Massachusetts, for example, in 1749, voted, "that its public notes should be redeemed with the expected remittances from the Royal Exchequer. As the bills had depreciated, and were no longer in the hands of

the first holders, it was insisted, that to redeem them at their original value would impose a new tax on the first holders themselves; and therefore forty-five shillings of the old tenor, or eleven shillings and three pence of the new emission, were, with the approbation of the King in Council, redeemed by a Spanish milled dollar. Thus Massachusetts became the hard money Colony of the North."*

The experience of foreign countries is in the same direction. Take the case of Russia:

"After the restoration of peace, 1815, measures were taken by the government to bring the finances and currency into a normal condition, and *assignats* to the nominal amount of about 200 millions of roubles were bought up at the price of the day and burned; but it was not till 1834 that the latter object was accomplished by the return to a metallic (silver) currency, of which the silver rouble formed the unit—the legal relation of the existing paper currency to silver being at the same time fixed at the rate of 350 Kopecks of the former to 100 Kopecks of the latter,"† or 3½ to 1.‡

In the case of Austria: "The State could no longer meet its obligations, and on the 15th of March, 1811, Count Wallis, the finance minister, struck eighty per cent. off the value of one thousand and sixty millions of bank paper, and reduced the interest on the whole of the State debts to one-half, payable in the new paper issue."‖

We may also observe that Congress, after the Revolutionary War, sought to dispose of the Continental Currency by this method; but the issue was so large that its value was *nil*. And we may also state that France, unable to sustain or to withdraw it, endeavored to dispose of Law's "abstract currency" in this manner, by reducing its value one-half by seven successive reductions, but the currency was so excessive that its value was *nil*, and the notes ceased to circulate the day after the promulgation of the royal decree.§

This branch of our subject, however, is foreign to our original

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* Bancroft's *History of U. S.* Vol. II, p. 50.

† The paper money of Russia was probably overvalued, and Russia has since been suffering from permanent depreciation of currency.

‡ *Commentaries on the productive forces of Russia.* M. L. De Tegoborski.

‖ *History of Austria*, Coxe; Bohn's edition, Vol. IV, p. 47 of Introduction.

§ *Mississippi Scheme in France.* Professor Tucker.

design, which was rather to point out the nature and cause of the distress under which the United States are suffering so severely and indicate the proper, legitimate remedy. If we have exhibited, in doing so, less regard for the opinions of our contemporaries than the rules of literary courtesy require, we trust it will be attributed to a just zeal in a good cause, rather than to professional arrogance. We have long believed that a thorough knowledge of the principles of political economy was the great desideratum in the qualification of government ministers; and that the want of such a qualification on their part is the chief cause of the present financial distress. God grant that our rulers may be wise in time, and avert social consequences from which the imagination shrinks with horror. Let them ascend like little children to the source of truth, and take counsel of wisdom. Then will they not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by empty minds, nor submit to be enslaved by the political economy—false and misleading—of the Stock Exchange. For official incompetence deprived of the weapons of ignorance "will lose its principal strength, and be no longer able to obtain triumphs, calamitous to honest men and disastrous to the nation."—SAY.

ART. III. 1.—*The Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.* London. 1876.

2. *Memoirs of the Royal Astronomical Society.* London. 1876.

THE relation of the earth to the universe is not perceptible to the common observer, nor could it have been very clearly made out till after the lapse of centuries, and many generations of astronomers had observed, studied, and passed away. The best instruments that ingenuity could devise and mechanical skill construct, were necessary to aid the human mind; and even now we can tell only approximately what is the relative importance of our terrestrial globe to the planetary worlds which the telescope has made known to us. The earth's relative form and magnitude are very well-known, and so are its mass and motions; but while we know very much about its habitability, its internal structure and external features, similar information in respect of the planets is yet almost wholly beyond our ken.

Since the earth possesses an atmosphere it was early supposed that all the known planets have such an appendage; but subsequent observations, made with better instruments, and with more knowledge of what should be presented, threw doubt on such general conclusions; for it was almost certain that the moon exhibited no perceptible amount of atmosphere, though Schröter fancied that he saw signs of one of limited extent. The existence of a solar atmosphere is a discovery of recent times. The glare of our atmosphere prevented the atmosphere of the sun being seen with any optical means at the command of the astronomer until a very recent period, without the occurrence of a total solar eclipse. The invention of the spectroscope has removed our atmospheric obstructions, by dispersing the light reflected by our air, and thus rendering visible the clouds which float in the solar envelope. As we now know, evidences of a solar atmosphere were seen so long ago as the year 95 of our era, again in 1733, and faintly in 1806.

It was not till the total eclipse of 1842 that the existence of an extensive solar envelop outside the photosphere, was fully established.* Telescopic and spectroscopic observations have fully determined the fact of the existence of atmospheres surrounding several planets.

We know something of the physical constitution of the sun's atmosphere, but very little of that of the planets. We know that such appendages are gaseous; but except the existence of aqueous vapor, which the spectroscope has shown to exist in some of the planetary atmospheres, we are entirely ignorant of the kinds of the gas which compose them. Notwithstanding our ignorance on this subject at present, we confidently expect that the time will come when the astronomical physicist will be able to determine the kind and nature of the gases of which the planetary atmospheres are composed. Observation has not yet been turned sufficiently in that direction to solve the problem; but it would be well if some of our best experimenters, that have a sufficiency of means at their command, would give some attention to this question.

The solar atmosphere contains hydrogen in considerable abundance, and also metallic vapors, but beyond this our knowledge is not extensive. We do not know but that the atmospheres of some of the celestial bodies may contain permanent gases of whose existence we at present have no knowledge, but we can offer no reason that would render such a view probable, though our ignorance of what may exist obliges us to say that such a thing does not appear to be impossible. The chemist and the natural philosopher have become acquainted with the existence and properties of many terrestrial gases, but he knows of only two that are adapted by their mixture to sustain life, especially the higher forms of animal life, and they are oxygen and nitrogen, which nature has combined mechanically in about or quite the proper proportion to answer our purposes best. Still, we must not assume that different proportions would not have served a good purpose, for organic existence, developed under different atmospheric conditions, might be as

*See *Annuaire du Bureau des Longitudes*, for 1846, p. 464.

permanent and useful as terrestrial life. A larger proportion of oxygen might have shortened the duration of individual lives, but rendered them more vigorous; while a less proportion might have lengthened life, but rendered it less vigorous.

Though we are unable to tell very much about the *physical* constitution of the planetary atmospheres, yet it is not so with their *mechanical* constitution. The laws of the mechanics are fixed laws, and other things being equal, their action on Mars must be the same as on the earth. If planetary gases are of the same nature as terrestrial gases, and we are obliged to assume that they are, we know what are their laws of expansion and contraction, and the influence which heat and cold have on them. The results which we shall give in this article in relation to the solar, stellar, and planetary atmospheres, are based on the assumption that all atmospheric gases are subject to the same laws as terrestrial gases; and we shall further assume the earth's atmosphere to be the type of all such envelopes. As yet we have not the means of determining the mass, or the quantity of matter in any atmosphere, except the earth's, which is equivalent to an ocean of mercury thirty inches deep covering the whole earth. The law which determines the density of an atmospheric envelop at different heights above the surface of the planet, is very nearly independent of the amount of matter in the atmosphere, owing to the nearly spherical form of the sun and planets, and to the smallness of the mass of the atmosphere in comparison with that of the body which it surrounds. If, however, we wish to know the amount of pressure on a given extent of surface, as a square inch, and the density at the surface, or at any given height above it, as compared with some terrestrial standard, it becomes necessary for us to know the mass of the atmosphere, or to assume some value for it. In the absence of real knowledge we may assume as a hypothesis not altogether improbable, that the amount of material in the atmosphere is proportional to the amount of material in the body which it surrounds. That is, that the mass of the earth is to the mass of its atmosphere, as the mass of Jupiter is to the mass of his atmosphere; and similarly for any other body. We are quite certain that the

law does not hold in the case of the moon, but then it is thought that that body once had a more extensive atmosphere which has been absorbed by the rocks of which its surface appears to be composed. In other words it is a world farther advanced in its physical condition than the primary planets, and perhaps the satellites of Jupiter and Saturn. We shall therefore assume in some cases that the mass of the atmosphere —especially in the case of the sun—does not follow this law, but that it is greater than this law requires.*

We know that in the case of the sun and stars heat must enter into the consideration; and it has even been supposed that Jupiter and Saturn have an inherent temperature much above that of the earth, and some observations seem to warrant this conclusion. In taking into consideration the influence of temperature, we shall suppose the surface of the celestial body heated to a given temperature, and that for different heights above the surface the temperature varies directly as the surface temperature, and inversely as the square of the distance from the centre of the body under consideration.

Experiments have shown at what rate terrestrial gases expand for each degree of heat above 32° Fah., and this law we shall assume to hold good in all parts of the universe. Different gases expand according to a slightly different law, but the variation is so small that we need not regard it in our enquiries here. Guy Lussac and others have shown that for each degree Fah. above 32° that the temperature of a gas is increased, its volume is increased by the 490th part of the volume at 32°, so that at the temperature of 490° above 32°, the volume of the gas would be doubled. These are the assumptions which we shall make, and the reader will see that they have the force of probability in their favor.

The determination of the actual temperature of the sun's surface, seems to be a difficult problem. Various results have been found depending on the nature of the experiment and on

*Since the mathematical formula on which our results are based cannot be given here, the reader will find them in a paper read before the American Philosophical Society, November 3, 1876, and published in the Proceedings for that year.

certain hypotheses assumed. The conclusions arrived at vary greatly from one another, but there seems to be more evidence in favor of a very high temperature, than in favor of the results which give a much lower temperature. MM. Pouillet and St. Claire Deville think a temperature between 3,000° and 20,000° Fah. the most probable; while Zöllner and others claim a temperature ranging from 50,000° to 100,000°; Ericsson, four or five millions; Langley, about ten millions; and Secchi, eighteen millions of degrees. The influence of temperature on the height of solar atmosphere, is very considerable. It is known that the height of the earth's atmosphere is at least three hundred and fifty miles; and this height will enable us to calculate the relative density at the surface, the density at the surface of the earth being unity. If the same ratio be supposed to hold for the sun's atmosphere, we can find its height on this supposition. If we suppose the temperature of the sun to be 32°, the height of his atmosphere would be only twelve and a half miles. For a temperature of 4,900,000° the height would be about 176,000 miles; for a temperature of 7,350,000° it would be about 335,000 miles; and for a temperature of 9,800,000°* it would be 606,000 miles. For a temperature of about 17,000,000°, the height of the sun's atmosphere would be about 79,000,000 miles, or it would extend beyond Venus.

So far, then, as we can place any reliance on the laws which we have already explained, the results to which we have arrived do not favor the high temperature which Secchi assigns to the sun. Prof. Young has seen hydrogen clouds more than two hundred thousand miles above the sun's surface. We hence conclude, from the numbers which we have given, that the temperature of the sun's surface is at least as high as 5,000,000° Fah., and it is probably nearer double this number. We learn also from a similar calculation, that if the temperature of the sun was raised to about 100,000,000°, the sun would be expanded to a distance far beyond the most distant planet.

*These numbers are assumed for convenience in calculation.

It is evident that an atmosphere so far extended as that of the sun is known to be, must be very rare, even if its mass is very considerable. Solar clouds have been seen at a distance of 211,000 miles from the sun's surface;* and if there is any analogy between the solar atmosphere and that of the earth, in respect to clouds, we must conclude that the former extends to a great height beyond the highest solar cloud. The various numbers which we have given as representing the extent of the sun's atmosphere, and which result from calculation, do not depend on the amount of material in the atmosphere, but on the temperature of the sun. The density of the atmosphere at the surface of the sun, and at any height above the surface, depends, however, on the quantity of matter contained in such en envelope. As we have already stated, we shall suppose its mass proportional to the mass of the body which it surrounds. With this supposition and a temperature of the sun equal to 9,800,000°, the density of the atmosphere, at the surface of the sun, would be only one-half, that of hydrogen at the surface of the earth, and a temperature of 32°, being one. At a height of 26,000 miles, the density would be only about a thousandth part of that at the surface.

In an atmosphere so rare as we have just shown the sun's to be, a solid body would move without meeting with very much resistance; and if such a body (a thing that is probably not found on the sun) were projected with very great velocity —corresponding, perhaps, with that seen in the motion of hydrogen jets, two hundred or more miles per second—it would possibly pass beyond the sun's attractive power so far as to reach some one of the planets; but we do not imagine that a meteoric mass of any description which has reached the earth, ever had its origin, as has been supposed, in this way; unless it was thrown out in the form of gas, and afterwards condensed in the cold regions of space. If hydrogen or metallic vapors were in any way pent up beneath the sun's surface, and there heated very intensely, on bursting forth, as it would seem that they frequently do, the difference of specific

* Prof. C. A. Young in *Popular Science Monthly* for Feb., 1874.

gravity in addition to the initial velocity of projection, would cause them to ascend like a balloon, with very great rapidity. In short, we must conclude that the rapid changes which have been observed to take place in the solar atmosphere, are mainly due to the intense heat of the great solar furnace, whether the temperature be owing to chemical or mechanical action.

The pressure of the solar atmosphere on a square inch of surface is about 11,000 pounds; and while the pressure would not be greatly changed if the atmosphere were reduced to 32°, the surface-density would be about 740 times as great as that of the terrestrial atmosphere at the earth's surface; or it would be nearly equal to the mean density of the sun.

Since the fixed stars are suns, they are probably, and in some cases certainly, as their spectra show, surrounded with atmospheres similar to the solar atmosphere; but these envelopes are not directly visible. But "we are occasionally presented with the beautiful and striking phenomenon of a sharp and brilliant star concentrically surrounded by a perfectly circular disk or atmosphere of faint light, in some cases dying away insensibly on all sides; in others, almost suddenly terminated. These are *nebulous stars*."*

It may be difficult to give a satisfactory explanation of the origin of nebulous stars, but we think that the facts which have been given in the preceding pages, will throw some light on the subject. If our sun were heated to some twenty or thirty millions of degrees, not only its atmosphere but the outer portion of the sun itself would be widely expanded, even so far as to include some of the more distant planets. If we now suppose such a sun to be only partly condensed from the nebulous condition, it would present such an appearance as is seen in the nebulous stars. We must not regard the apparent magnitude of these objects as any objection to this explanation, since the parallax of these stars is not known. For aught that we know to the contrary these bodies may not be so far away as has been generally supposed; and it would

* Herschel's *Outlines of Astronomy*. Art. 876.

be well to make an effort to determine their parallax. If our sun were expanded so as to take in the orbit of Neptune, and then removed as far away as *Alpha Centauri*, its apparent magnitude would be from two to five times as great as that of the nebulous stars. It would seem to be necessary to suppose them of disk-like form, and to be so presented to us as to appear circular. Their small number would render this explanation the more probable.

Whether the planet Mercury has or has not an atmosphere, is not definitely settled. It is very difficult to make delicate observations on the planet, owing to its proximity to the sun and its great brilliancy. For the purpose of making observations on its atmosphere, if it has one, day observations would seem to be preferable to early evening observations; the usual time for viewing the planet being between sunset and dark, owing to the fact that its greatest apparent distance from the sun is only about 29°, while it is generally considerably less. During the transit of the planet over the sun's disk, which happens occasionally, it would seem that an atmosphere, if there is such an appendage to Mercury, would become visible by the passage of the solar rays through it. It does not appear, however, to be a conspicuous object, and it is hence not at all times noticed by observers. Some observation, however, would seem to indicate the existence of an atmospheric envelope.*

If we now assume the existence of an atmosphere surrounding the planet Mercury, and that the density at its exterior parts has the same ratio to the density at the surface of the planet, as exists in the case of the earth's atmosphere, (a supposition whose truth is probable and one that we shall adopt in treating of the planetary atmospheres,) we find its height equal to seven hundred and forty miles, the height of the terrestrial atmosphere being assumed equal to three hundred and forty-three miles,—which is probably somewhat too small. All except the lower and denser parts of the atmosphere would be so rare, unless its mass is vastly greater than the law which we have previously explained would call for, that observation could

* For various observations on Mercury during the transit of November 4th, 1868, see *Monthly Notices* of the R. A. S., Vol. XXIX.

scarcely make its existence known. Its density at the surface of the planet would be but little more than two-tenths of the atmospheric density at the earth's surface, or about three and a third times the density of hydrogen gas. The pressure on a square inch of surface is a little more than three pounds; and the height of the barometer about fourteen inches.

Numerous observations are very decisive in relation to the existence of an atmosphere around Venus, and probably more extensive than the one which the earth possesses. Schröter, on the 12th of August, 1790, found the horns of the crescent of Venus extending some eight seconds beyond a semi-circle;* and a similar phenomenon was noticed by Dr. Dick in 1822. The former observer concluded from his observations that the denser part of the atmosphere is as much as three miles in height, and its horizontal refractions about 30′ 34″, which is nearly equal to that of the earth's. Sir William Herschel's observations confirm Schröter's results.† Some of the observers of the transits of Venus in 1761 and 1769, had previously seen evidence of an atmosphere surrounding Venus, in a faint ring of light around the disk of the planet while it was projected on the disk of the sun. The observations of the late Professor Mädler make the mean horizontal refraction of the atmosphere of Venus, one-sixth greater than that of the terrestrial atmosphere,‡ which would imply that it is more dense near the surface of the planet than what the earth is.

If anything more conclusive is needed in regard to an atmosphere of Venus, it may be found in some observations made on the planet, in the day time, by Professor Lyman,‖ of Yale College, at its passage through its inferior conjunction on the 11th of December, 1866. He observed the planet a few days before conjunction, and it was evident that the crescent extended beyond a semi-circle. On the 7th it was 40° more. On the 10th it formed a "*complete circle*, bright, thin and

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* *Phil. Trans.*, 1792. *Annuaire*, 1842.

† *Phil. Trans.*, 1793, p. 214. ‡ Hind's *Solar System*, p. 86.

‖ *Am. Jour. Science*, [2,] Vol. XIV, pp. 129, 130. Prof. Lyman used an excellent 9 inch refractor.

delicate, (the crescent proper,) on the side towards the sun, but on the opposite side a more faint line of light."

The facts which we have given above show that the atmosphere of our "morning and evening star" is of about the same density as that of the earth. Its height is three hundred and ninety-two miles, and at the height above the surface of three and ninety-two hundredth miles, the density is reduced one-half. This result agrees with Schröter's deductions in regard to the denser portions of the atmosphere. The density of the atmosphere at the surface of the planet is about twelve times that of hydrogen; and its pressure on a square inch of surface is about twelve pounds. The barometer would stand there at a height of about twenty-six inches. Judging from the observations which we have given, it seems probable that the mass of the atmosphere of Venus bears a little higher ratio to the mass of the planet than we have supposed; and if we call the surface-density and the pressure the same as the terrestrial atmosphere, we shall probably not be out of the way. If there is water on Venus we see no reason why it may not be an inhabited planet.

We know more about Mars than any other celestial body except the moon. Not many years after the invention of the telescope, astronomers saw evidence of the existence of an atmosphere around her, and it was thought an extensive one. M. Cassini saw, in 1672, a star of the fifth magnitude in the constellation Aquarius become so faint when it was six minutes distant from the planet's disk, that it could not be discerned with the help of a 3 foot telescope. The cause of the disappearance of the star was thought to be the atmosphere of the planet. Sir William Herschel, on the other hand, was able to trace a much smaller star within a very short distance of the planet's limb. It has hence been concluded that Cassini's observations was in some way defective; but it is quite possible to reconcile the two observations. In the first place Herschel employed a much better telescope than Cassini did, and in the second place clouds in the Marsial atmosphere may have obscured the star observed by Cassini, while the star observed by Herschel might have shown through a clear atmosphere. There is one

or two facts in relation to an atmosphere on Mars, that have probably been overlooked by astronomers when they have studied the Marsial atmosphere. Owing to the force of gravity being very small on that planet (less than one-half of terrestrial gravity,) its atmosphere must be of great height. If we suppose it subject to the same conditions in regard to density as the earth's atmosphere, (which we have already explained,) the Marsial atmosphere must be some eleven hundred miles in height. It decreases in density very slowly, for its density does not diminish half till a height of eleven and a third miles above the surface is reached, and at about twenty-three miles the density will be diminished to one-fourth, and so on, for greater heights. Thus clouds may exist in the atmosphere of Mars at a height of twenty miles or more. If the mass of the atmosphere is proportional to the mass of the planet, its surface-density must be very small, being but one and a half times that of hydrogen gas. The pressure on a square inch of surface is less than one and a half pounds; and the height of the barometer would be only about nine inches. If we suppose the mass of the atmosphere twice as great, these numbers will be increased in the same ratio.

That water exists on Mars is certain, for the outlines of seas and other large bodies of water, can be distinctly traced with good telescopes. The accumulation of snow and ice in the polar regions, during the winter seasons on the planet in those parts, and their disappearance (in a measure, at least,) during the warm seasons, were observed by Sir William Herschel nearly a century ago, and the same thing has been repeatedly seen since. This spectroscope has also shown the existence of lines in the spectrum of Mars, which are due to aqueous vapor. We, therefore, see no reason why Mars is not fitted for the existence of animal and vegetable life, and we must hence conclude that both animals and vegetables live there. The rare atmosphere which we have supposed, is, perhaps, no objection; and besides, observations afford evidence that the density is much greater than our figures indicate.

Passing over the group of the Asteroids, which seems to

serve as a dividing line, we come to Jupiter, the giant planet of our system, and the first of a different class of planetary bodies. Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, and Neptune, are all very much larger than the planets which we have considered, and their external appearance is very different. Some years ago it was thought that the belts which the telescope reveals on Jupiter, were in part clouds and in part the dark body of the planet. Since clouds in general reflect more light than land or water, the bright belts were supposed to be clouds, and the dark belts, land, or the body of the planet. Later observations render it doubtful whether the real surface of Jupiter has yet been seen or not.

In 1860, Professor Lewis B. Gibbs presented a paper to the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at its meeting in Charleston, in which he has discussed the relative reflective power of the planets, and he finds that Jupiter and Saturn reflect or throw out more light, from equal surfaces, than either Mars or Venus. In 1853, Mr. Nasmyth read a paper before the British Association, in which he introduced the idea that Jupiter and Saturn are yet highly heated; and the same hypothesis has been more recently revived by Mr. R. A. Proctor.* Some observations on Jupiter, made in 1872 and 1873, by Lord Rosse † and others, indicate a change of color in the belts, and this fact, the one above mentioned, and other things now regarded as true in regard to the genesis of the solar system, offer us a pretty good evidence that Jupiter really gives out some light of its own, as well as to reflect the sunlight. The clouds which are visible indicate the existence of an atmosphere which has been thought to be pretty extensive. If we apply the same laws to the Jovian atmosphere that we have to the sun and other planets, we shall find the following results:

If we consider the planet cold like the earth, the height of its atmosphere will be one hundred and forty-six miles, if

* In an article in the *Popular Science Monthly* for June, 1872, and taken from the *Cornhill Magazine*.

† *Monthly Notices*. Vol. XXXIV.

we apply to it the rule which we apply to the terrestrial atmosphere. Since this is so much less than what we have found for the other planets, it would at first appear that our result cannot be correct; but when we reflect that the force of gravity is much greater on that planet than on any of the others, we see why its atmosphere is less extensive.

As we have already seen, however, there is some considerable probability that Jupiter has an inherent temperature very much above what we have supposed. In order to test some speculations that have been indulged in respecting the physical constitution of Jupiter, we shall make some suppositions in regard to the temperature at the surface of that planet, and then give the calculated results with respect to its atmosphere. In order that the planet may give out some light of its own, we must suppose its temperature as high as 980° Fah. above the freezing point of water. This will make Jupiter's atmosphere four hundred and twenty-five miles in height. Mr. Proctor supposes the cloud layers in the Jovian atmosphere, situated where the density is about one-fourth of the density of the earth's atmosphere at the surface of the earth. With the temperature which we have assumed, that density will be found in Jupiter's atmosphere at the height of twelve miles above his surface, if the mass of the atmosphere be supposed proportional to the mass of the planet. Mr. Proctor assumes the height to be a hundred miles. We must conclude, then, that the mass of the atmosphere is either much greater than we have assumed (it would require to be 765,000 times as great, making its surface-density 1,600 times that of water,) or its temperature is much greater.

If we assume the surface-temperature of the planet equal to 4,442° Fah., which, it would seem, is much too high, the height of the atmosphere will be about 1,500 miles. If we suppose the cloud layers to be a hundred miles above the surface, and to occupy a stratum whose density is about the same as that of the earth's atmosphere at the height of ten miles, (and it is probably greater,) the mass of the atmosphere would require to be rather more than twenty-eight times as great as the law, which we have heretofore assumed, calls for; and the

density of the Jovian atmosphere at the surface of the planet would be nearly seventeen times as great as the terrestrial atmosphere at the earth's surface. The density would decrease only about one-fourth as rapidly as the earth's atmosphere decreases. The pressure on a square inch of surface would be nearly twenty-five hundred pounds. If we suppose the mass of the atmosphere proportional to the mass of the planet, the height of the cloud-layer, on the supposition above made, would be about thirty-two miles.

When we consider the improbability that the surface temperature of Jupiter is as high as we have supposed, and also that the mass of the atmosphere is as great as would be required if the cloud-layer were a hundred miles high, we must conclude that the clouds, or belts, which we see extending across the disk of the great planet Jupiter, cannot be more than twenty or twenty-five miles above the surface proper of the planet.* If the mass of the atmosphere is proportional to the mass of the planet, and the temperature about 1,000°, the pressure on a square inch of Jupiter's surface would be about eighty-eight pounds; and the height of the barometer would be a little more than six feet.

It has been suggested that Jupiter's satellites are inhabited; and if they are they must be surrounded with an atmosphere. The height of the atmosphere must be very great, owing to the small amount of attractive force which they exert, if Laplace's values of their masses be nearly correct. Beginning with the most distant satellite from Jupiter, the heights of the atmospheres in order will be 3,600, 2,400, 3,400 and 5,300 miles. Observation seems to indicate the existence of atmospheres around those satellites.

Though the planet Saturn approximates in magnitude to the planet Jupiter, yet the mass of the former is not quite one-third of that of the latter in value; and the force of gravity at the surface of Saturn is a little less than one-half of the

* We have entered into the various details given in the text, to show how uncertain our knowledge is when our results are based on a hypothesis that we do not submit to mathematical calculations; and also because Mr. Proctor's speculations are too frequently taken by editors as real knowledge.

value of the force of gravity at the surface of Jupiter. Owing to the last fact, the height of the atmosphere of Saturn, if his temperature at the surface be 32°, will be a little more than three hundred miles, or nearly the same as the height of the terrestrial atmosphere. If his surface temperature be 1,012°, the height of the Saturnian atmosphere will be about nine hundred and fifty miles; and with a temperature of 4,442°, the atmosphere will have a height of 3,350 miles.

That Saturn has an atmosphere is evident from the existence of belts, or bands, extending across his disk, and from the accumulation of snow or clouds in the polar regions during the winter season of those parts.* It seems more probable that the polar accumulations, which reflect more light than the equatorial regions, are clouds than snow, judging from the general appearance of the surface of the planet. If we assume that clouds are sustained at a height of one hundred miles from the surface of the planet, we find, if the surface temperature be 4,442°, the mass of the atmosphere needs to be about nine times as great as it would be, if its mass is proportional to the mass of the planet, and if clouds are sustained where the density is the same as that of our atmosphere at a height of ten miles. This conclusion is not altogether improbable; but if surface-temperature be 1,012°, the mass of the atmosphere must be about four hundred and seventy times as great. It is safe to say that with the higher temperature, the cloud-layers must be from forty to sixty miles in height. The atmosphere would decrease in density very slowly, since the density would not be diminished one-half till a height of thirty-one miles is reached.

Since the inherent temperature of Saturn may be even greater than we have supposed, it is not impossible that the cloud-layers are a hundred or more miles in height, and that the real density of Saturn is much greater than is usually supposed. By admitting the cloud regions to be considerably extensive, we are able to give an explanation of a phenomenon which has given astronomers some little trouble, and which

* *Annuaire* for 1842, p. 555.

some do not suppose to exist. We refer to Herschel's conclusions that the greatest diameter of Saturn is not through the equator, but that which forms with it an angle of about 45°. In 1872 he measured the equatorial and polar diameters of the planet, but he did not notice any peculiarity in the figure of the planet.* In 1805, however, the same astronomer announced the discovery of a strange irregularity in the form of Saturn. In accordance with former measurements, he found the equatorial diameter to exceed the polar, as was also found to be the case with Jupiter and Mars, but the equatorial diameter was not the largest diameter of the planet, as was the case with the others, but that diameter which formed an angle of 43° 20′ with the plane of the equator, exceeds any of the others.† In 1806 he corrected the measurements of the year previous, and he found the three diameters in the proportion of the numbers 3,600, 3,541, 3,200.‡ According to these measures the figure of the planet was that of a quadrangle with the corners rounded off.

Sir William Herschel regarded the peculiar figure which Saturn appears to have, as owing to the attraction of his rings. This explanation not being regarded as entirely satisfactory, the fact thus pointed out by Herschel was for a long time regarded as an inexplicable phenomenon. The eminence of Dr. Herschel, as an observer, led many astronomers to accept his result as one of the settled truths of astronomy. Professor Airy attempted to account for the Herschelian form of Saturn upon the theory of gravitation, but he did not succeed. In 1832 Professor Bessel resolved to test Herschel's conclusions by means of carefully conducted micrometrical measurements of the planet. He computed several diameters of the planet, supposing it ellipsical, and with polar and equatorial diameters such as he found by observation; and these he compared with those which he found by direct measurement. He found the two sets to agree almost exactly.‖ Whence it

*_Phil. Trans._ 1790. Part I, p. 17.

†_Phil. Trans._ 1805. P. 280. ‡_Ibid._ 1806. Part II, p. 461.

‖ _Connaissance des Temps_, for 1838.

was concluded that Herschel had fallen into an error. We have been somewhat particular in giving an account of this discovery of Saturn's form, for we are not aware that Bessel's conclusion has ever been seriously called in question. Sir William Herschel's care and accuracy as an observer are not, however, easily set aside, and we must not be too hasty in concluding that he was in error. There seems to be a possibility that Herschel and Bessel are both right. At any rate the subject demands a more careful and extended re-examination with the aid of our best instruments, than it has yet had.

We have already shown that observation indicates the existence of an atmospheric envelop to Saturn of considerable density, and theory shows that it must be pretty extensive. In this atmosphere clouds exist, and they appear to surround the planet completely. They possibly exist at a great height above the surface of the planet proper, if, indeed, the planet is yet solidified. The clouds would be influenced both by the inherent heat of Saturn, and by the heat of the sun. The rapid rotation of the planet would influence, to a considerable extent, the circulation of the atmosphere in polar directions, and this motion would modify the external configuration of the planet as indicated by the clouds.

William Ferrel, in a treatise on the motion of fluids relative to the earth's surface,* has shown that the external form of the terrestrial atmosphere corresponds with that which Herschel attributed to Saturn. Ferrel finds that the height of the atmosphere, at the latitude of 35°, is nearly a mile greater than it is at the equator. His formulas are adapted to the earth and will not so well apply to Saturn; but if we substitute the numbers for Saturn in his equations, we shall find that the atmosphere of that planet is three hundred miles higher at the latitude of 35°, than it is at the equator; and if the Saturnian cloud strata partake of the form thus indicated, we shall have an approximation to the Herschelian form of Saturn. Herschel's figure indicate a difference in height of

* *The Motions of Fluids and Solids, Relative to the Earth's Surface.* Taken from the *Math. Monthly.* See his figure 1.

about six hundred miles, instead of three hundred. We must allow some margin for the difficulty of making exact measurements when the object is so small as the disk of Saturn. We have thus pointed out a cause, and it would appear to be a sufficient cause of the peculiarity of the form of Saturn; and the explanation is of a purely mechanical and analytical nature. If now the figure of Saturn is variable—and it would be well to observe it closely throughout a Saturnian year—we can, perhaps, reconcile Herschel's and Bessel's results.

If the mass of Saturn's atmosphere be proportioned to the mass of the planet, the density at the surface will be about one and two-tenths that of the earth's; the pressure on a square inch will be about eighteen pounds; and the height of the barometer will be thirty-three inches. These results are based on the supposition that Saturn is of the same temperature as the earth.

We might add numbers giving the same elements for the atmospheres of Uranus and Neptune, but it is not best to do so, since observations will not help us much.

It would be well to observe carefully to see if Jupiter's satellites cast a perfectly black shadow on the disk of the planet, or whether Jupiter does not have some light of his own.

ART. IV.—1. *The Dramatic Works of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquhar, with Biographical and Critical Notes.* By LEIGH HUNT. London. 1840.

2. *Lectures on the English Comic Writers.* By WILLIAM HAZLITT. London. 1818.

3. *An Essay on the Artificial Comedy of the last Century. Essays of Elia.* By CHARLES LAMB.

THE great revolution of the seventeenth century and the gloomy but terrible episode of the Commonwealth, have always appeared to us to constitute the grand gulf between mediæval and modern England. Notwithstanding the vast strides which were effected under the Tudors, and especially under Queen Elizabeth, from the semi-barbarism of the Plantagenets to a condition of comparative civilization and high literary culture, the English under these sovereigns appear to the imagination invested with a species of epic grandeur. We cannot figure to ourselves how these people thought, talked and acted in familiar life; their manners and customs are known to us only as we can gather them from books, and even as thus gathered are so unlike in many respects to those of our own day that we can find in them little that is familiar or in accordance with our own ideas. Their fashions were not our fashions; their ways of thinking and feeling were not those of our day; even their language appears to wear a different aspect and to move with more stateliness and circumspection than that which trips so glibly from modern tongues. Therefore, while occupying a definite and highly important position in history, they are, so far as concerns our mental and social sympathies, almost as unreal to us as were the heroes of Homer to the Athenians.

It is a remarkable coincidence that the last ruler of the house of Stuart was, like the last of the Tudors, a woman; that under each sovereign the nation rose to an eminence, both literary and political, which it had not attained in any previ-

ous reign; and that each has retained a peculiar hold on the affectionate memories of her subjects. Yet, although barely a century can be said to have elapsed between the death of Elizabeth and the accession of Anne, yet we think and speak of Queen Anne and her contemporaries with much the same familiarity as of Queen Victoria and hers; while the giants of the Elizabethan age seem to loom out of the remote past, grand and undefined, the ornaments of a period which displayed the culmination of the poetic epoch, as Anne's times did that of the prosaic.

It is in fact difficult to associate poetic impressions with Queen Anne or any of her surroundings, or indeed with the surroundings of any English sovereign since the time of the Restoration. Awful as were some of the events which these reigns record—important as were others in their bearing on the social and political condition of the world—neither the horrors of the plague and the great fire, the persecutions of the Covenanters, the great revolution of 1688, the romantic attempts of the Pretender to recover the crown of England, nor the still greater revolution whose centennial anniversary we have but now ceased to celebrate, can avail to take their history out of the light of common day; while over the reign of the ill-fated Charles I and of all his predecessors, however unkingly or unworthy, there lingers a glamour of romance—the enchantment which distance lends to the view in time as completely as in actual space.

The difference in the feelings with which we regard epochs separated by so short a space of time, may be accounted for partly by the great change which the period effected in the manners and customs of our ancestors. Prior to the first revolution the ideas, traditions and usages of England were essentially English. The old English sports which had been popular in the days of the Plantagenets were still in vogue in the time of the first Stuarts. The national life still maintained its heartiest development in the country, where each noble, nay almost every private gentleman, maintained his own little court and administered civil, if not criminal, justice among his own retainers. The drama was peculiarly English. The na-

tional character, if wanting in refinement according to modern ideas, was genuine, vigorous and hearty. The spirit of veneration still existed—not altogether, perhaps, unmingled with superstition; and the reverence for the true, the noble and the beautiful manifested itself in the poetry which, reflecting the spirit of the age, rose to a height superior to that of any other. On the other hand, brutality appeared even in high places; crimes of violence were common, and for the protection of life and property there was little resource beyond the strong arm of the wealthier gentry and their retainers.

The French grace and levities which James I endeavored to introduce sat clumsily enough on the rough material on which it was grafted, and though a demoralized and emasculated court was the result of his administration, little change was developed in the national character. But the stern Puritan element was destined to sweep away this generation like the wind the leaves of the forest. Nowhere in history do we find so complete and immediate an overthrow of all the established modes of thinking, talking and acting. Puritanism set its stamp on England to such an extent that even those of the old race who continued in their estates were permitted so to do only by the suppression of all their ancient usages. To the new generation which grew up under this *régime* every feature of their ancestral life was like a myth—a dreary fanaticism at which they internally rebelled while they reluctantly submitted to its requisitions—was all they knew of England or English life.

While the rising generation in England were growing up under the influence of a religious fanaticism which they adopted, or professed to adopt, that portion of them which had taken refuge in France developed under entirely different influences. The Court of Louis XIV was the most brilliant in Europe, and its influence, moral and social, was felt throughout the country. It was in cities that the national life was principally developed, and Paris, during that reign, became the centre of civilization. In that city the social element had attained an importance entirely different from anything that had been known in Great Britain. Society had

become the theatre of life, and had adopted a form not unlike that which it wears at the present day. Morning visits, receptions, evening balls, fêtes and masquerades; the restaurants, the public gardens, the theatres where visits were exchanged in the boxes as regularly as in private dwellings, were the recognized occupation not only of the nobles, but of all persons aspiring to the title of gentry, and were even the sphere in which most of the political intrigues were carried on. Combined with all this was of course no little dissoluteness of living; the marriage tie was but slightly regarded; religion had become little more than a form; but over all was maintained a veil of refinement and even of external decorum which, in depriving vice of its grossness, removed much of its hideousness.

We can readily imagine the avidity with which a life of this nature would be adopted by the youths who from their recent experiences had wrongly learned to hate the very name of religion, and to associate even the idea of decorum with that of the foulest hypocrisy. The exiled king of England was himself a cousin of the French sovereign; and to the friends who surrounded him the most attractive gayeties of the French capital were open. Unfortunately its manners and tastes were more easily acquired than its cultivation and refinement; and it is not surprising that the young English sojourners in Paris, while they adopted the social usages and also the morals of their temporary abode, retained to the full the grosser instincts which they had brought from their own country; and with whatever success they might have acquired the accomplishments and superficial graces of their continental neighbors, failed not only to aspire to the literary attainments of the polished French capital, but even to retain the degree of education which had formerly been considered necessary to a gentleman in England. When we turn to contemporary accounts of England after the Restoration, we find the majority of the gentry of both sexes profoundly ignorant; their correspondence sets spelling and grammar alike at defiance; their daily life appears a scene of unblushing profligacy; and their conversation characterized by a disregard of common decency which

we scarcely find paralleled in the annals of the most debauched Roman emperors.

The Commonwealth came to an end; and with the Restoration an entirely new style of manners and morals found its way into England. The courtiers who had surrounded Charles in his exile, were, of course, those who remained near him in prosperity, and who gave the tone to the community. Society assumed the external dress which it had acquired in France, and which, with slight variations, it has retained to the present day. Visits and balls, masquerades in winter and the Park in summer* became the business of ladies and gentlemen of fashion, and of their copyists in all the ranks. The "small change" of conversation became current in society. This may have been, and very possibly was, but a dull copy of the dialogue *spirituel* of the French *salon;* although in the comedies of Wycherley and Congreve, whatever be their other faults, dullness of dialogue is not to be included among them. They literally sparkle with repartee—drawn however in all probability rather from the authors' recollections of France, than their experience in England. But if they aspired to imitate the wit of French conversation, they certainly did not attempt to copy its refinement. The language in which Wycherley's men and women of fashion express themselves can only be compared to the style which is at present familiar in the back slums of the cities. In this statement we do not refer merely to the phraseology, but to the sentiments habitually expressed and to the ordinary topics of conversation. In fact, the license which the better classes imported from Paris, found its echo in a much worse element in the heart of the English nation. The people, who had for so many years been living under a system of intense repression, compelled by law to wear a grave face, rigorously observe the Sabbath, express in their deportment a piety which they were often very far from feeling, and eschew the most innocent diversion as if it were the most heinous sin, the moment the restraint was removed rushed to the opposite ex-

* See Wycherley's *Plain Dealer*, Act III.

treme. The spirit of blasphemy, ribaldry and profligacy which manifested itself on the moment of the Restoration is one which we can hardly realize, and of which we can form but a faint idea from its reflex in the literature, dramatic and otherwise, which became popular immediately on the change of government. What were the morals and manners of an age which produced Rochester's poems, Wycherley's dramas, and the performances of Sir Charles Sedley and the Calves-head Club, we can only infer from contemporary memorials; and from these we learn enough effectually to abate any ardor which we might feel in the pursuit of information on the subject.*

The drama was, of course, one of the first institutions to manifest the change in the modes of thinking, feeling and acting, which had become characteristic of the English people. The drama of the period preceding the Revolution had been of a character essentially poetic. Even the comedies of Shakspeare, of Beaumont and Fletcher, and of their contemporary dramatists, had relied principally on the development of the plot, the multiplication of incidents, the effectiveness of the situation, and the portraiture of character to interest and attract the public. Jonson had to a certain extent departed from this practice in an attempt to portray what he called the humors of the age; but these "humors" were rather the display of individual oddities, or at the most, of peculiar fashions which were ephemeral in their character, and lost their interest when the originals had passed from memory. In fact, in the palmy days of the English stage there appears to have been no medium between the romantic drama and the broad farce. In France, however, the position of comedy was entirely different. There, under the inspiration of Molière, it had undertaken to portray the manners and customs of the times, to hold the mirror up to the Court, and to present to the spectators

*"On the very first day on which the restraint of fear is taken away, and on which men venture to say what they feel a frightful peal of blasphemy and ribaldry proclaims that the short-sighted policy which aims at making a nation of saints, has made a nation of scoffers."—*Macaulay.*

such gentlemen and ladies as they were accustomed to meet in every day life. Hence originated what is called the Comedy of Manners. We can realize the fascination which this style of entertainment possessed, from the charm which we find even at present in the comedies of Molière, and the attraction which in our own day is exercised by those comedies, which, however inferior in point of literary merit, present, or profess to present, anything like a picture of fashionable society as it now exists. We need only mention as an illustration, the names of Bourcicault and Robertson. The comedians of the Restoration found this style of drama peculiarly adapted to the tastes of the community in which they lived; and the comedies of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquhar represent in fact the spirit of Molière transferred to the atmosphere of Great Britain.

If these comedians may be considered to present a true picture of the state of morals and manners in Great Britain in the time of Charles the Second and his immediate successors, it is one which we cannot contemplate without a shudder. Virtue, morality, even common decency and the ordinary respect which in most ages vice pays to virtue, appear to be entirely unknown. Religion is regarded as a mere laughing stock, or the cloak which is adopted by those addicted to the meanest vices. The truth and honor of man, the chastity of woman, everything which our nobler instincts teach us to respect, is openly trampled under foot. The affections are nowhere, nor even the common sympathies which ordinarily bind man to man. Of these sympathies, we may add, even the women appear to be destitute. In utter selfishness, callousness of feeling and recklessness of life and language, they seem to modern readers like Cyprians of the lowest grade; and despite the wit and brilliancy which sparkle in every page of these comedies, we feel in reading their works as if we were living in Pandemonium—the inhabitants, male and female, are scoffing, sneering devils—devoid alike of morality, honor, decency or heart, and glorying in their depravity as if it were the pabulum of life.

To mention a few of the instances—premising that those

which we omit are such as no writer of the present day would care to particularize. In Wycherley's "Love in a Wood," it would seem to have been the custom of gentlemen and ladies of quality to congregate nightly in St. James' Park, not to keep, but to *make* assignations—the ladies wearing masks so as to be in no wise distinguished from the worst of their sex, who, except in the matter of rank, were no worse than themselves. The gallants of the time make no scruple of pursuing their game even into respectable houses. Young girls, who have been brought up with the utmost precaution, are obliged to marry to save themselves from public disgrace. In the "Gentleman Dancing Master," a young lady, whose education has been almost conventual in its seclusion, garnishes her conversation with masculine oaths, and makes nocturnal appointments with a person whom she knows only by sight and reputation. In the same comedy women of the town make no scruple of forcing themselves into private rooms at restaurants, and even into private houses and into the family circle; and this is considered so little of an outrage that not only are they not expelled, but the gentlemen of the family converse with them unreservedly in the presence of the ladies.

In the "Country Wife" the vicious propensities of four out of the five heroines are the only motives pretended for their various delinquencies; and although the conduct of Alithea is characterized by more decorum, her brother, at least, expresses himself as entertaining very little faith in her virtue. But the most disgusting picture of all is in the "Plain Dealer," where Manly, the hero, who is described in the "dramatis personæ" as of a surly, *honest* humor, deliberately plans and executes the ruin and disgrace of the woman who has jilted him; while Fidelia, by whom he is truly beloved, can find no better means of proving her attachment than by conniving at and assisting his dastardly revenge. This play may in fact be regarded as the apotheosis of treachery, villainy and profligacy; yet so perverted was the taste of the times that the character of Manly was held up to admiration, and the author himself complimented therefor with the *sobriquet* of "Manly Wycherley."

In "The Old Bachelor" of Congreve, vice is literally rampant. The whole intrigue of the play turns on the marriage by fraud of a forsaken mistress and the release of her lover. Even the quasi-respectable ladies secure their lovers only by assuming the disguise of women of the town; and we may quote, as a specimen of the refinement of the day, the language of one of them, described as an "affected lady," and evidently intended as an object of ridicule for her peculiar fastidiousness: "Oh monstrous filthy fellow! Good slovenly Captain Huffe, Bluffe (what is your hideous name?) begone; you stink of brandy and tobacco, most soldier-like."—Act iv, scene 9.

"In "The Double Dealer," by the same author, family relations are altogether ignored, or made to add a zest to the intrigues which form the staple of the plot. In "Love for Love" we have one virtuous character, Angelica; but her virtue is but a poor apology for her heartlessness and malice. Of the "other *dramatis personæ*," male and female, the less said the better, except that notorious vice appears no bar to social position, and even ignorance is no guarantee for innocence. In "The Way of the World" each husband is the lover of every woman except his wife, and each wife at the service of every man except her husband, and they are as indulgent to one another as independent in their own actions. The "Relapse" of Vanbrugh presents boldly on the stage characters and incidents now considered unfit even for mention. In the "Provoked Wife" a young unmarried lady is the willing aider, abettor and prompter of her aunt's amours—amours, we may add, which the latter has steadily resisted until encouraged to them by her niece. In "The Confederacy" two married women combine to make money out of each other's husbands by encouraging them as their lovers. We may add that in each of these plays actions which would now not be considered fit subjects for description or even mention are made matters of scenic representation.*

* We cite no instances from Farquhar; for though he gives us but a coarse impression of the manners of the times, his comedies by no means indicate the utter social demoralization which characterizes the sketches of his predecessors.

But we doubt whether, as a matter of fact, these dramatists present an accurate picture of the condition of morals and manners in Great Britain at that time. Of the tone in vogue at the court of Charles II there can be no doubt that they convey only too true an impression. But we must remember that in this court women of the lowest birth, breeding and morals occupied the position of peeresses, to which they had been elevated by their royal lover, and in which character they were received by the queen herself. These people were the most active patrons of the play-houses, and the moral tone presented there was such as they might well prefer to believe the tone of the entire realm. The heroines of Wycherley's and Congreve's plays are such as the Duchesses of Cleveland and Portsmouth might recognize as their own associates, and such as they would gladly be persuaded all women, whether of quality or otherwise, were. But that there was no virtue in England even in the days of Charles II, that there were not still to be found faithful wives, devoted mothers, and pure maidens able to resist the evil influences of the times, it will require more unimpeachable evidence than the testimony of these playwrights to induce us to believe, and we have sufficient proof to the contrary in the fact that the two nieces of the Merry Monarch himself—princesses born and bred in the very atmosphere of his court, and who successively ascended the throne of England—passed through the life-long ordeal of their position without a whisper from their worst enemies attacking the reputation of either. Scandal was sufficiently busy with the names of both these princesses—the Jacobites unhesitatingly, though we believe falsely, attributing to one a design on her father's life, and to the other habits of private intoxication; yet in no instance do we meet with so much as an insinuation against the moral character of either.

However we may esteem the comedy of the Restoration as a picture of morals, of the manners of the time there can be no doubt that it presents a reflection almost photographic. We see here the germ of what may be called modern society—that is, society in the dress which it had adopted from the French, and which, with a certain increase of refinement, it

has continued to maintain to this day. The forms, the fashions and all the little details of social life are given with a minuteness which shows that they possessed for the writer's contemporaries the charm of decided novelty. The social etiquette, the social amusements, even the modes and topics of conversation are dwelt upon at times as if the audiences still required instruction on these subjects. The gentry of England had not yet become sufficiently accustomed to the ordinary social fictions to accept them as a matter of course. Therefore we are told at length of the exchange of morning visits,* of the promenades in the Park; of the restaurants and the theatres where Lord Foppington entertained himself till nine o'clock with looking upon the company, and usually disposed of one hour more in leading them out;† of the masquerades and balls; of the special styles of dress and manners which characterized the fashionables of either sex; even the style of compliment and badinage which was considered essential to the beau and the belle of the period.‡

In all these minute delineations of every-day customs we find the evidences of a society yet in its infancy, or at least in a process of reconstruction on an entirely new moded. It is for this reason that in the English comedies all the social features are so elaborately set forth, which in Molière's plays we gather only incidentally.

This disposition to dwell at length upon the ephemeral fashions of the time is particularly noticeable in the comedies

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* As in the following scene from Vanbrugh's "Relapse:"

Amanda.—"Prithee what care I who has been here?"

Maid.—"Madame, 'twas my lady Bridle and my lady Tiptoe."

Amanda.—"My lady Fiddle and my lady Faddle! What dost stand troubling me with the visits of a parcel of impertinent women? When they are well seamed with the smallpox they won't be so fond of showing their faces. There are more coquettes about the town."

Maid.—"Madam, I suppose they only came to return your ladyship's visit, according to the custom of the world."—Act IV. Scene 4.

† *Ibid.* Act II. Scene 1.

‡ Witness Tattle's instructions to Miss Prue, in Congreve's "Love for Love."

of Wycherley, the earliest of the four celebrated comic dramatists of the period. In this author we also find the imitation of Molière much more conspicuous and undisguised than in the comedies of his successors. This is not surprising, for Wycherley's youth was passed in France, and his first ideas of dramatic literature were gathered from the great French comedian. Born about A. D. 1640, he was, at the age of fifteen, sent to France, where he resided until the Restoration. His associates were the frequenters of the Hôtels Rambouillet and Montausier, the centres of the wit, learning and refinement of Paris. His chief friend was the Duchesse de Montausier, by birth Mademoiselle de Rambouillet, the most distinguished *précieuse* of her time, and the leader of the somewhat affected style of conversation which, though unmercifully ridiculed by Molière, we may respect as a sincere effort to refine the tone of society, hitherto sadly in need of such influences. This lady's persuasions are said to have converted young Wycherley to the Roman faith, although judging from his writings, she produced little result in refining his tastes or elevating his morals. Possibly in these respects he was more amenable to the influence of the Duke her husband, who was himself a convert from the Huguenot faith, and of whose character we may form an idea from the fact that he furnished the original of Molière's Misanthrope, and (perhaps still more fully) of Wycherley's Plain Dealer.

The young gentleman's conversion was not however of very long duration. At the age of twenty he returned to England, where he became a fellow commoner of Queen's College, Oxford, where, however, he never matriculated, but only lived in the Provost's lodgings, being entered in the public library under the title of Philosophiæ Studiosas, in July, 1860.* The only effect of his residence appears to have been his reconversion to Protestantism, which is attributed to Bishop Barlow, but is more probably due to the fact that Romanism was not in very good odor in England after the Restoration, the king, notwithstanding his own religious proclivities, feel-

* Wood.

ing strongly the necessity of conciliating the favor of his Protestant subjects.

According to his own account, he had already commenced his literary career, having written "Love in a Wood" at the age of nineteen, while he was yet in France, and the "Gentleman Dancing Master" the year after his return to England. For this we have no better authority than his own statement to Pope, made at a much later period of his life;* and with this statement we find much that is irreconcilable in the contents of the plays themselves. "Love in a Wood, or St. James' Park" was not produced until 1672. The comedy turns entirely on the adventures of a variety of ladies and gentlemen (so called) in St. James' Park at night, where their midnight rambles are spoken of as "a new fashion."† Some of the scenes are laid in the French House and Mulberry Garden House, fashionable restaurants of the time of Charles II. In the very first scene the Great Fire, which occurred in 1666, is referred to as a past event;‡ the play-houses and churches are mentioned as places of ordinary resort, and guineas (first struck in 1663) appear to be in general circulation. These references are too casual to justify the assumption that they were inserted subsequently to the composition of the play; but conceding that possibility, how can we believe a comedy which displays on every page the most intimate acquaintance with London life to have been written by a youth who had only known England under Puritan domination, and at a time when the London life of the Restoration can hardly be said to have had an existence? It may be added that of all Wycherley's plays that have come down to our day, this is the only one which displays no reminiscence of Molière. It is hardly

* *Spence's Anecdotes* (Singer's ed.), p. 161.

† See the opening passage of Act II.

Ranger.—"Hang me if I am not pleased extremely with this new-fashioned catterwauling—this midnight coursing in the Park."

‡ "Has not my husband's 'scutcheon walked as much ground as the citizen's signs since the Fire;" and again in Act III, "If the register had not been burned in the last Great Fire."

likely that an author residing in France, and so ardent an admirer of the great French dramatist as to make him the subject of perpetual imitation, could have written a comedy in which no portion of his spirit was infused at a time when he would naturally have been most under his influence.

In fact, there can be no doubt, from the internal evidence of the play itself, that "Love in a Wood" was written after a a long residence in London had familiarized the author with the details of London life, and with the habits of men about town; not however of women of quality, for both in this play and the "Gentleman Dancing Master," the only female characters which impress the reader as drawn from personal observation are those of citizens' families, and a still lower, though hardly more degraded class. The high-born ladies are evidently ideals or, at the best, reminiscences of the author's experience in France. Of Wycherley's career, from his departure from Oxford, until the appearance of his first play, little is known, except that he was entered as a student at the Middle Temple, where, however, he appears to have accomplished little beyond acquiring a general knowledge of the jargon of law and the humors of Courts which he subsequently utilized in his "Plain Dealer."

Whatever may have been the period of his first literary efforts, it is certain that he did not appear before the public until 1672, when "Love in a Wood, or St. James' Park," was brought out with considerable success. More has already been said about this play than its merits deserve. Its sole recommendations are a certain brilliancy of dialogue, and a few amusing situations—especially the scene between Sir Simon, Dapperwit and Mrs. Martha, in the last act. On the other hand, its indecencies are such as can hardly be mentioned, further than by saying that they fully justify the commentary of Macaulay:

"In truth, Wycherley's indecency is protected against the critics as a skunk is protected against the hunters. It is safe because it is too filthy to handle, and too noisome even to approach."*

* "*Essay on the Comic Dramatists of the Restoration.*"

The appearance of this play was however a great event in Wycherley's life, and proved the turning point of his fortune. Whether accidently or with intention he had introduced into the first act a song in which he eulogized the superiority in intellect and valor of illegitimate children over those born in wedlock.* The sentiment of this song had the good fortune to meet the approbation of the Duchess of Cleveland—a woman of low birth, but whom King Charles' admiration had exalted to a brilliant social position. So little had this lady (?) thought it necessary to adapt her manners to her new station, that it is said to have been her custom to drive in Hyde Park asleep in her coach with her mouth wide open. Wycherley's person pleased her as much as the sentiments of his comedy, and she proceeded to make love to him after a characteristic fashion. Meeting him one day in the Ring in Hyde Park, she put her head from her coach window and bawled out "Sir, you are a rascal; you are a villain!" adding another epithet which Macaulay remarks might with justice have been applied to one of her own children. The dramatist accepted the challenge as a matter of course. Turning his own equipage, he speedily overtook that of the Duchess; (or, as Pope tells the story, called on her in her apartments on the following morning), when the following refined conversation occurred:

"Madam," said Wycherley, 'you have been pleased to bestow on me a title which belongs only to the fortunate. Will your ladyship be at the play to-night?"

"Well" said the Duchess, "What if I am there?"

"Why then" rejoined the play-wright, "I will be there to wait on your ladyship, though I disappoint a fine woman who has made me an assignation."

"So," exclaimed the lady, "you are sure to disappoint a woman who has favored you for one who has not?"

"Yes," returned Wycherley, "if the one who has not favored me is the finer woman of the two. But he who can be constant to your ladyship until he can find a finer is sure to die your captive."

*The language of the song is unquotable. We may add that it is supposed to be sung in a French Coffee house by a lady who apologizes for it with the remarks: "Though it be the fashion for women of quality to sing any song whatever, because the words are not distinguished, yet I should have blushed to have done it now but for you, Sir."—Act I. Scene 2.

From this interview commenced an intimacy which was of little pecuniary advantage to the dramatist, compared with what he might have anticipated. To her he dedicated the play which had led to their acquaintance; in which dedication he speaks repeatedly of the favors received from his patroness; although he was careful to explain this phrase, by a reference to her Grace having twice witnessed his play. The Duchess herself made no secret of her partiality for the handsome dramatist; and sixty years later, old men who remembered those days related how she used to visit him in the Temple, disguised as a country girl, in a straw hat and pattens, and with a basket in her hand.* She presented him at Court where he was well received by the King, and acquired that knowledge of the manners of fashionable life which he utilized in his later plays. The Duke of Buckingham, "then Master of the Horse, and one of the infamous ministry known as the Cabal,"† was sufficiently jealous of the Duchess' favors, or, as Leigh Hunt suggests, of her reputation, to attempt to pick a quarrel with her new favorite; but a little adroit flattery soon appeased the capricious nobleman, and he received the dramatist among his friends, made him one of his equerries and gave him a commission in his regiment. Under the patronage of the Duke, Wycherley advanced so rapidly in favor with the King, that on the occasion of an illness Charles visited him at his lodgings in Bond Street, recommended a visit to Montpelier for the recovery of his health, and presented him with five-hundred pounds for the expenses of the journey.

In 1673, our author produced on the stage his second comedy "The Gentleman Dancing Master," which he represented himself to have written within a year of his first arrival in England. From the character of the play, this seems not impossible. It displays no more acquaintance with English manners and customs than might have been easily acquired in a year's residence. The principal *dramatis personæ* are En-

* Voltaire's Letters to the English Nation.

† Macaulay.

glishmen who make themselves ridiculous by adopting the manners and language of foreigners; and the chief points of the intrigue are evidently borrowed from French and Spanish sources. The play would appear to have met with but indifferent success. It was first brought out at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and afterwards at Salisbury Court. In a prologue written on the occasion of this second production, the author admits that it was not successful at the other end of the town; and that it was scarcely more popular in the city we may infer from the prologue to the "Country Wife" in which the author designates himself:

"The late so baffled scribbler of this day."

The "Gentleman Dancing Master" was hardly deserving of better success. Of all Wycherley's comedies it is undoubtedly the poorest, and has been justly styled "a long foolish farce, in the exaggerated manner of Molière, but without his spirit or whimsical invention." It was probably either shortly before or shortly after the production of this comedy that Wycherley took service on board a man-of-war and was present at a battle which he celebrated in a copy of verses described by Macaulay as "too bad for the bellman." It had become the fashion during the second Dutch war, for young men about town to serve on board the King's ships, doing no little harm to the service by their ignorance and want of discipline. It was, in fact, a mere freak of fashion, to which Wycherley alludes in the epilogue to his "Gentleman Dancing Master":

"And since all gentlemen must pack to sea,
Our gallants and our judges you must be."

The only result of the dramatist's naval experience was the suggestion of various characters for his subsequent comedy of the "Plain Dealer."

The "Country Wife," which appeared in 1675, is indubitably the best, in a literary point of view, of Wycherley's comedies. The idea of the play is taken from Molière's "l'École des Femmes," but Wycherly has borrowed little beyond the conception. The characters, the plot and the dialogue are entirely his own. According to Wycherley's own

statement this was the last of his compositions, and was written in 1672; but it certainly appeared before the "Plain Dealer," and there are passages in this latter comedy which are evidently of a later date than the play in question. For brilliancy of dialogue and ingenuity of plot the "Country Wife" is unsurpassed. The character of the heroine is delicious—her naïveté, her instinctive cunning and the ingenuity with which she changes the letters and causes her jealous husband to turn her out of doors and send her to her lover in the disguise of his sister Alithea, are irresistible. Alithea and Harcourt display instincts of honor and refinement unknown to the generality of Wycherley's heroes and heroines. The moral tone of the play is simply disgusting. The conception of Horner is one which it is difficult to realize could have been tolerated on the stage even in the days of Charles II. It is fortunate that this comedy in the subsequent century fell into the hands of Garrick, who reproduced it in the shape of the "Country Girl," turning the wife into a betrothed, like the Agnès of Molière, and so effectually eliminating the offensive passages that we are able to enjoy the real wit and geniality of the author without the perpetual outrages on decency which unfit the original comedy for representation. The "Plain Dealer," which followed in 1677, ranks almost equally high in a literary point of view; but in other respects is even more offensive than the "Country Wife." We do not so much allude to its offences against decency, in which it were impossible to surpass its predecessor, as to the frightful cynicism of the entire production. The idea of Manly is borrowed from Molière's Alceste; but while Alceste is really a noble character embittered by the vice and hollowness which he sees around him, Manly is as low and depraved as any of the characters whom he denounces. The "Plain Dealer" may justly be described as the apotheosis of falsehood, treachery and villainy, and the most fearful evidence of the moral depravity of the times appears in the fact that Wycherley evidently considered that in Manly he was portraying an elevated character.

It would not be proper to pass over the "Plain Dealer"

without mention of a scene, evidently taken from "La Critique de l'École des Femmes," in which the "Country Wife" is discussed by a party of ladies and gentlemen at a morning reception. It would seem as if Wycherley were afraid that the obscenities of the former play would not be thoroughly comprehended, for he takes especial pains in this scene to make clear to the conception of the audience every *équivoque* which might possibly have been overlooked. However, this scene has its value, for it stands as a testimony that even in Charles II's time there were parties to whom the license of the stage was offensive; who were capable of appreciating better things, and who had some regard for virtue and decency. The appearance of the "Plain Dealer" was indirectly the cause of an important event in the life of the dramatist. He had received at that period an intimation of his proposed appointment as tutor to the Duke of Richmond—Charles II's illegitimate son. While awaiting the appointment he went down to Tunbridge Wells, and was one day in the bookseller's shop with his friend Mr. Fairbeard, of Gray's Inn, when the young Countess of Drogheda, a rich and handsome widow, entered the shop and inquired for the "Plain Dealer."

"Madam," said Mr. Fairbeard, "since you are for the 'Plain Dealer,' there he is for you."

"Yes," observed Wycherley, "the lady can bear plain dealing, for she appears to be so accomplished that what would be compliment addressed to others would be plain dealing addressed to her."

The lady was of course ready with a repartee, and the flirtation thus inaugurated eventually terminated in matrimony. The marriage was private for fear the dramatist should lose his favor at court; but like all private marriages it was ere long discovered, and ruined the dramatist forever with the king. The countess unfortunately was intensely jealous, and it was enough for her to know that the Duchess of Cleveland was still paramount at court, to determine her to oppose every effort which her husband might make to re-establish himself in that sphere. The lady herself was jealous, ill-tempered and imperious. She had been a maid of honor at Whitehall, and

knew the tone of morals that prevailed there. Poor Wycherley was kept under as strict surveillance by his wife as his favorite heroine, Mrs. Margery Pinchwife, could ever have been by her husband. Even when he went to meet his old friends at the tavern in Bow Street he was required to sit with the windows open, that the countess, whose house was on the opposite side of the street, might be assured that there was no woman in company. The death of the countess, which occurred before very long, did not relieve Wycherley's troubles. The fortune which she bequeathed him became the subject of a lawsuit, which finally consigned the poor dramatist to the Fleet, where he languished for seven years. His comedies, however, still retained possession of the stage, and at length James II, having witnessed a representation of the "Plain Dealer," took pity on the author, and, besides paying his debts, settled on him an annuity of £200 per annum. It was probably about that time that Wycherley renewed his allegiance to the Church of Rome. The date of his conversion is not ascertained, but we may naturally infer that James II, intensely bigoted and with little literary culture, would be much better disposed to reward an accession to his faith than to honor literary merit.

The latter part of Wycherley life has little of importance to mark it beyond the fact of his intercourse with Pope. In 1704 he appeared before the public as the author of a volume of poems in the style of Rochester. But the age of Queen Anne was not that of Charles II. The work encountered the contempt that it deserved. The same year witnessed the commencement of his acquaintance with Pope. The latter was a youth of sixteen just commencing his literary career. At first he appears to have been delighted with the privilege of knowing the great dramatist of the Restoration, and he followed him with the devotion of a neophyte. Soon, however, this friendship came to a close. Wycherley, in his long seclusion, had not kept pace with the age. He was still the rake of Charles II's time, and though broken down in constitution and sighing for his lost beauty and vigor, his conversation and writings still breathed the tone of the monstrous profligacy of the Restoration. Pope, when called upon to correct and modify

his friend's writings, thought proper to do it so effectually that hardly any of the old stock remained. Wycherley's self-love naturally took offense, and the rising star soon found it convenient to break loose from the fading planet which was already on the verge of setting. One act of absurdity, however, remained for the poor dramatist to execute. Ten days before his death he married a young wife, avowedly for the purpose of disinheriting his nephew. He died in 1715, and was buried under the Church of St. Paul in Covent Garden.

At the present day it is impossible to read Wycherley's comedies without a sentiment of unqualified disgust—a disgust which is not softened by the evident pains which the author takes to impress us with the fact (or fiction) that he is portraying the morals and manners of the age, or at least of the age as it appeared to his patrons, the Duke of Buckingham and the Duchess of Cleveland. Manliness and sincerity, an amiable disposition and a genial nature are said to have rendered him generally beloved; and it is perhaps the severest censure on the moral tendency of the age that it should have so utterly corrupted a nature originally estimable.

As photographs of the time in which he wrote, Wycherley's comedies are of the utmost value. We have here reproduced the favorite haunts and amusements of the wits, beaux, and belles of society. The New Exchange (which appears to have been a sort of Arcade), the Parks, Mulberry Gardens, the French House, Westminster Hall with its Courts of law, neighbored by stalls and confectioner's booths, its suitors elbowed by fops, and morning loungers: the morning visits and evening rambles are all delineated with the pen of a Hogarth or Pepys. Even the Plague and the Fire—those terrible scourges which appear to us like the judgments of an offended Deity on the unparelleled depravity of the nation, are mentioned with the familiarity of recent events and made the subject of jest and witticism. None of the comedians of antiquity have succeeded in so completely transporting us into the spirit of their time, and little as there be may in that spirit to admire, this fact will always endow Wycherley's plays for the student

of manners and customs with an interest altogether beyond their merits.

Macaulay has remarked that we pass a very severe censure on Wycherley, when we say that it is a relief to turn from him to Congreve. This stricture is just if we regard the simple question of decency. We do not generally find in Congreve's comedies the outspoken and rampant profligacy of Wycherley. Congreve wrote in an age when some slight regard was paid to decorum; when man's honor and woman's chastity were recognized and respected in the higher walks of life. Accordingly he very soon felt the necessity of adapting his style to the changed tone of society. Congreve wrote in the time of William and Mary. The Queen was eminently pious and of unblemished reputation. She had set the example of discountenancing the open display of vice at Court; and the King, though by no means pure in morals, was little inclined to obtrude his vices on the public eye. The stage, however, retained the tone which it had acquired in the time of the Restoration. Wycherley's comedies were still popular; and the theatre, the centre of wit and fashion, was also the chief exponent of the profligacy of the times. It was under these circumstances that Congreve first appeared as a playwright. His previous life presents little of interest. Born in 1670, and originally brought up in Ireland, he had acquired at the University of Dublin, a better education than was common to the men of his time. Like Wycherley, he undertook the study of the law and was entered at the Middle Temple; and like him, he paid little attention to his profession, but devoted himself to literature and society. His first comedy, "The Old Bachelor," which was produced in 1693, though far inferior to his subsequent productions, obtained a marked success. This was due partly to the exceptional brilliancy of the dialogue—an excellence in which Congreve far outshines his competitors, and indeed, most of his successors. But the great secret of its success was undoubtedly owing to the galaxy of genius which appeared in the cast. Betterton, Powell, Mrs. Barry, Mrs. Bracegirdle, Mrs. Mountford and Mrs. Bowman, were peculiarly qualified to do justice to the many brilliant passages they

had to recite; and it is said that when the four actresses appeared together on the stage in the last act, the audience were so struck with their beauty that they burst into a fervor of applause. In point of morality and decency, the "Old Bachelor," may be justly ranked with the worst of Wycherley's comedies; and it is probable that the author modelled his characters much more on the *dramatis personæ* of his predecessor, than on his contemporaries. In fact, we may remark of the majority of Congreve's comedies—notably of his earlier ones—that notwithstanding the dazzling brilliancy which give them a charm on the stage, they are in one respect more disagreeable to read than even those of Wycherley. We allude to the utter heartlessness and cynicism, the total absence of everything like faith, honor or principle that characterizes them. Even Wycherley's profligacy is partially redeemed by a certain heartiness, a geniality and sympathy—the "touch of nature," which makes the whole world kin. Of this, Congreve has nothing. He is cold, cynical, heartless and skeptical. Not one of his characters seems capable of a moral sentiment or even of a human affection. Notwithstanding this fact the "Old Bachelor" was eminently successful; and although Congreve pretended that he had not intended it for the stage, and had only consented to its production at the importunity of friends, he was emboldened by its success to follow it up in the succeeding year with the "Double Dealer," which was produced at the same theatre—Drury Lane. The last comedy, far superior in wit and variety to the "Old Bachelor," was less favored by the public; for while willing to tolerate the representation of the vices of a past generation, it seems to have been revolted at an attempt to reproduce them in its own. There was something too offensive in the vices of Maskwell and Lady Touchwood—in the broad display of passions which recall the myths of Laius and Pelops—and even in the gratuitous immorality of Brisk and Careless, Lord and Lady Froth and Sir Paul and Lady Plyant. The artistic merits of the comedy however secured from the critics the admiration it failed to receive from the public. Queen Mary honored the play with her presence; and Dryden addressed the author the

celebrated epistle in which he extolled him beyond all dramatists, Shakspeare hardly excepted:

> "Heaven that but once was prodigal before,
> To Shakspere gave as much, he could not give him more."

Notwithstanding the commendations of the critics, Congreve was deeply mortified at the want of popularity of the "Double Dealer," and that he shrewdly divined the cause is apparent from the improved tone of his next comedy, "Love for Love," which was produced in 1695. Betterton and some other actors, resenting the treatment which they received at Drury Lane, had obtained a patent for a new theatre, which was established at Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, and the theatre opened with Congreve's new play, "Love for Love." Though containing many passages and even entire scenes which have to be expunged on the modern stage, it is the only one of Congreve's comedies that is still occasionally performed; and those who have witnessed it will bear testimony to the charm which it possesses even in its mutilated form. In the character of Angelica, Congreve clearly yielded to the improved spirit of the times, which required at least respectability and dignity in the principal female characters. The surroundings were bad enough; but their position is properly subordinate, and they are held up to the censure of the spectators and receive poetical justice at the author's hands. Nothing can be more irresistible than the scene between Mrs. Foresight and Mrs. Frail—omitted in modern reprsentations—where the would-be censor of her sister's morals unwittingly betrays herself:

> *Mrs. Fore.*—"But look you here now, when did you lose this gold bodkin? Oh sister, sister!"
>
> *Mrs. Frail.*—"Well, if you go to that, where did you find the bodkin? Oh sister, sister! sister every way.
>
> *Mrs. Fore.*—(*aside*) "O, devil on't, that I could not discover her without betraying myself."—Act II. Scene 9.

It is curious in reading these comedies to observe how prevalent, even at the end of the seventeenth century, was the belief in omens and astrology. It is laughed at of course by the pretenders to wit and fashion; but it is perfectly clear that it maintained a firm hold even among the middle classes.

Foresight in this play, and Fondlewife in the "Old Bachelor," are instances of the extravagance of the belief which then prevailed—a belief which in modern times we should think almost impossible. When Foresight seriously remarks—

"As to the marriage, I have consulted the stars and all appearances are prosperous."—Act III. Scene 13.

And again,

"I am inclining to your Turkish opinion in this matter, and do reverence a man whom the vulgar think mad."—Act IV. Scene 12.

It is clear that we have here no caricature, but a genuine portrait of a popular delusion which only the more intelligent had yet learned to disown.* The success of "Love for Love" gratified the comedians so highly that they gave Congreve a share in the theatre, conditioned on his furnishing them a play every year "if his health were good enough." Of this condition he would appear to have availed himself, for he produced only two plays subsequently to his contract, namely, the "Mourning Bride," a tragedy which appeared in 1697, and met with a success altogether disproportioned to its merits if we compare it with the standard dramas of both past and subsequent periods, but not if estimated by the tragedies of contemporary dramatists; and the "Way of the World," which appeared in 1700. This, though generally considered the most brilliant and finished of his performances, did not meet with popular favor, and Congreve, disgusted with the want of appreciation of the public, withdrew irrevocably from the stage.

The unfavorable reception which the "Way of the World" encountered may have been partly owing to the reaction in popular sentiment occasioned by the appearance of Jeremy Collier's "Short View of the Profaneness and Immorality of the English Stage." Congreve had rendered the strictures of this work particularly applicable to himself by appearing in

*The character of Foresight was then common. Dryden calculated nativities, and Oliver Cromwell and King William had their lucky days, and Shaftesbury himself, although he had no religion, was said to regard predictions."—*Johnson.*

print as the defender of the contemporary drama, and as he had decidedly the worst of the controversy, his new comedy, which seemed written expressly in defiance of his antagonist, was received in a manner to indicate the current of public opinion.

The wit of the "Way of the World" is superior to that of any of even Congreve's comedies. Mirabel and Millamant are perfect sketches of the fine gentleman and lady of the times, and the other *dramatis personæ* are admirable portraits of manners if not of character. But the outspoken immorality, the utter heartlessness and the shameless manner in which witty profligacy is allowed to triumph over justice and decency were qualities to the hideousness of which the public attention had been too recently awakened for them to be overlooked; and that a comedy allowed to have been a marvel of wit and pungency should have been unable to vanquish objections which, but a short period since, would have been regarded as of no weight, is a strong proof of the good already effected by the energetic, though perhaps somewhat injudicious reformer.

We have not space to follow Congreve's personal career; his public appointments which elevated him suddenly from poverty to wealth; his flirtation or intrigue with Mrs. Bracegirdle, and his friendship for Henrietta, Duchess of Marlborough, to whom he bequeathed the bulk of his fortune. There is little in the life or writings of Congreve to interest us in the man or to lead us to desire a better acquaintance with him. As Lamb has justly remarked, "he has entirely excluded from his scenes not only anything like a faultless character, but any pretensions to goodness or good feelings whatsoever." His characters are heartless fine ladies and gentlemen, whose sole object is to say witty things to one another, and their intense artificiality renders it difficult to enjoy the perusal of his plays except as a collection of brilliant *bons mots*. It is for this reason not easy for a modern reader to do justice to Congreve. Only those who have witnessed a performance of "Love for Love" on the stage can form any idea of the fascination of his comedies when represented by gifted artists—the flash and sparkle which keep the attention alive at every moment, and the satisfaction with which audiences listen to the

dialogues of people for whom they really care nothing, merely from the brilliancy and point of their conversation.

Congreve, like Wycherley, made no scruple of borrowing scenes and incidents from the French drama. The scandal scene in the "Double Dealer," like that in the "Plain Dealer" of Wycherley, is taken from the "Misanthrope;" the scene between Valentine and Trapland, in "Love for Love," is almost a literal translation of that between Don Juan and Monsieur Dimanche, and the marriage in disguise of Tattle and Mrs. Frail, who are "tricked into one another" while intending to entrap Valentine and Angelica, is a reminiscence of La Fontaine's "Ragotin." It may be doubted, however, whether the English playgoers of Congreve's time were sufficiently familiar with the French stage to recognize or object to the plagiarisms.

When Vanbrugh first appeared as a dramatic author, Collier's "Short View" had not yet done its work; but the personal example afforded by Queen Mary and the increased influence obtained by the Puritan element since the Revolution had undoubtedly affected a considerable improvement in the tone of society. Virtue was recognized and respected, and vice, if tolerated, was no longer considered the chief qualification for social success. Of this changed tone Vanbrugh's comedies give us an unconscious reflection. In his very first comedy, the "Relapse," he has presented us with a high-minded and virtuous wife in Amanda, and he has shown an unconscious recognition of virtue in the "Provoked Wife." Nevertheless, we must confess that of all the four great comedians of the Restoration, we find Vanbrugh the most disagreeable. His comedies read like the productions of an ancient *roué*, who, not finding among the youth of the day materials equal to his conceptions, rakes up the reminiscences of his own youth and retails them for the delectation of the present generation, garnished with such sources as age and memory alone can supply.

"Fear not to unchain thy tongue,
Let thy scurvy fancies free,
What is loathsome to the young
Savors well to thee and me." *

* Tennyson's *Vision of Sin.*

Wycherley's license has the freshness of youth and the effervescence of a period when society may be said to have been in a state of immoral intoxication. Congreve's fine ladies and gentlemen are unreal, their heartlessness and profligacy does not shock us to the extent that the same vices would affect us in real life; for we feel as if they were mostly on the surface. But Vanbrugh's characters are real flesh and blood—genuine men and women—and very bad men and women too. They do not disregard virtue like the heroes and heroines of Wycherley; nor ignore its very existence like those of Congreve; they distinctly and emphatically recognize its existence, but only to treat it with contumely and derision. It is this element which gives to Vanbrugh's comedies a flavor peculiarly distasteful; that in them we find throughout a distinct recognition of the better qualities coupled with a deliberate and ostentatious preference of the worst.

And yet in a literary point of view Vanbrugh's comedies have their merits. There is a genuineness and vividness in his portraits which render them quite distinct from the flimsy, half-unreal creations of the comedians of his day. His dialogue has little of the brilliancy and none of the refinement of Congreve; but his incidents are conceived in the genuine spirit of fun: and his situations, atrocious as many of them are in point of taste, are irresistible in their power of mirth. We do not realize how any audience could have tolerated the scene in the "Provoked Wife," in which, while Mademoiselle describes an interview which she professes to have witnessed, Razor ventures to act out each incident as she relates it; or that in the same play where Sir John Brute, taken before a magistrate in the dress of a parson—in the revised version it is that of a woman—electrifies him by a display of drunken ribaldry and profanity; to say nothing of the closet scene in the "Relapse" and the interviews of Young Fashion and Coupler in the same comedy. But while we feel that they outrage every sense of decency, it is impossible to read them without amusement. In fact, Vanbrugh's great forte was his humor, which is displayed in sudden situations, unexpected and startling *dénouements* and ingenious develop-

ments of plot, which give his comedies an interest akin to the comedies of the present day.

If Vanbrugh were born in 1666, as is generally supposed, he must have been past thirty in 1697 when his first play, the "Relapse," was produced at Drury Lane. According to a stage tradition, it had been commenced some years previously, while the author was in the army, and was completed at the instance of a friend who had done him a pecuniary service; and, being one of the sharers in Drury Lane, was repaid for his advances by the success of the new play. The very conception of the "Relapse" is characteristic of the traits which we have already remarked in Vanbrugh. Some few years previously, Colly Cibber had produced a play entitled "Love's last Shift," of which the subject was the reclamation of a dissolute husband through the devotion of a faithful wife. Vanbrugh took the reformed husband to London, and carried him back to his old vices. We know of no play (not even the "Plain Dealer" of Wycherley) in which the worst side of human nature is brought into more hideous and painful relief. Amid all, however, Amanda stands forth nobly, and, did she possess a little more delicacy and refinement, might be compared with the Lady in Milton's Masque, encompassed by the rabble of Comus. But unlike her prototype, though she passes through the ordeal with honor unscathed, it is at the expense of a broken heart and a future hopelessly blighted. The characters and incidents of the underplot are more agreeable. Lord Foppington, Young Fashion, Sir Tunbelly Clumsy, and Miss Hoyden, though not in the least estimable, are highly amusing; and as we have really too little regard for any of them to care who wins or loses the game which is kept up among them, the changes and chances which give the advantage now to one and then to the other are thoroughly diverting. Sheridan improved the comedy in his altered version entitled, "A Trip to Scarborough," in which he gave the prominence to the Foppington party, and besides withdrawing Loveless, the hero of the "Relapse" into the background, invented a *dénouement* for his flirtation with Berinthia, much more harmless and therefore more agreeable than Vanbrugh's original conception.

Vanbrugh attempted to elevate the "Relapse" to the dignity of the Elizabethan comedy by commencing to write it in blank verse; but the attempt was so evidently a failure that he soon abandoned it. Nothing can, in fact, be made more halting or more inharmonious than the attempted versification of Vanbrugh; it displays ignorance of the first principles of the art, and, if persisted in, must infallibly have ruined his comedies for the stage.

The comedy of the "Relapse" proved extremely popular, and Lincoln's-Inn-Fields vied with Drury Lane in securing the services of the author. It was the former of these theatres that obtained the privilege of bringing out his second comedy, the "Provoked Wife," which appeared in 1698. This comedy is a disagreeable picture of sottishness and grossness in the hero, Sir John Brute and his companions, which it may be hoped is at present extinct, although Thackeray's Sir Pitt Crawley would lead us to infer that Sir John has still some descendants living, though fortunately not equally outrageous with himself. The gratuitous malice and falsehood of Lady Fancyful are equally unpleasing, and we find little more to respect in Constant or Heartfree, Lady Brute or Belinda. Still, the "Provoked Wife" contains scenes of unusual drollery, which, to an audience not particularly refined or fastidious, must have been irresistible. It was at Drury Lane in the same year that Vanbrugh produced "Æsop"—a species of moral satire adapted from the French of Boursault, but which was conspicuously unsuccessful. Its dry and didactic tone had probably more to do with the indifference of the audience than its absurd anachronisms introducing individuals with English names and manners into the antechamber of an ancient Athenian Sage. It is difficult to account for the presence of Mr. and Mrs. Fruitful, Hobson, Roger, Mrs. Forgewill and Sir Polidoras Hogstye in Cyprus so many centuries B. C.; but the audiences of the seventeenth century would no doubt have overlooked this misconception had they found the play in other respects amusing.

In 1702 Vanbrugh produced the "False Friend," a comedy of intrigue in the Spanish style, and entirely out of his usual

manner. This same year witnessed his first success as an architect—the design of Castle Howard in Yorkshire, the seat of Charles, third Earl of Carlisle. On the strength of his double success as author and architect, Sir John organized among his acquaintances a subscription for a new theatre, of which he was himself to be the architect, and Betterton the principal performer, while the dramas enacted were to be the composition of himself and Congreve. Unfortunately, the ambition of the architect outran the experience of the playwright. The theatre was so large and cavernous that the actors' voices were utterly lost, and the situation was so far to the west that it was almost inaccessible for pit and gallery audiences. The fortunes of the theatre were not to be sustained even by the production of Vanbrugh's best comedy, the "Confederacy."

This comedy has been so highly lauded by the critics that it is hardly necessary to speak of it at great length. For variety of incident, oddity of situation and theatrical effect generally it is unrivalled; but it is, after all, a simple apotheosis of successful knavery. From Dick Amlet and Brass, the master spirits of the game, down to Corinna, the unsophisticated maiden, but "a devil of a girl at the bottom," the *dramatis personæ* are a group of outspoken tricksters, each trying his or her best to outwit the others, and finally getting rewarded instead of punished for their frauds. It is in fact characteristic of Vanbrugh's comedies that knavery and treachery are always successful. The laugh in every case is on the side of the trickster.

Even the popularity of the "Confederacy" did not render the new theatre a success. Congreve very soon deserted it, and left the task of sustaining it to Vanbrugh, who exerted himself so far as to produce in one season three adaptations from Molière. He finally abandoned the speculation, and with it his career as a dramatic author. Some time afterwards he translated a slight French comedy, the "Country House," and at his death left unfinished an original new play, the "Journey to London," neither of which materially add to his literary reputation.

The remainder of Vanbrugh's life was devoted to archi-

tecture, in which he achieved a great pecuniary success, notwithstanding his litigation with the Duchess of Marlborough on the subject of Blenheim Palace, and the sarcasms which his ponderous style generally elicited. Of these the most familiar is the epitaph by Dr. Evans, in the following words:

> "Under this stone, reader, survey
> Dead Sir John Vanbrugh's house of clay;
> Lie heavy on him, earth! for he
> Laid many a heavy a load on thee."

This was true in more senses than the epigrammatist intended; for heavier even than the physical was the moral load which Vanbrugh laid on the souls of his contemporaries; and if, as the "Confederacy" intimates, the city magnates of his day prided themselves on imitating and even exaggerating the vices of the Court of Charles II, under the impression that they were thus acquiring the tone of fashionable life, it is to Vanbrugh and his fellow playwrights that no small portion of the fatal lesson is to be ascribed.

It is a genuine relief to turn from these dramatists to Farquhar: for whatever of taste or refinement may be wanting in the productions of this writer, in his comedies we emerge into a healthy moral atmosphere, entirely different from the perverted one of his predecessors. Farquhar, in fact, gives us very much such an impression of the morals and manners of Queen Anne's reign as is presented by Addison and Steele; an age certainly not remarkable for cultivation or refinement among the masses of the people, but sound in morals, kindly in sentiment, and sincere in veneration for religion and truth. In these respects, Queen Anne's reign compares favorably not only with its predecessors, but with those of the first two Georges, who succeeded her. Farquhar is a writer of unbounded animal spirits, a mercurial temperament, quick and earnest sympathies, and abundant powers of invention. On the other hand, he has little real insight into character, and none of the high-bred tone indispensable in delineations of society and manners. Even his ladies and gentlemen are chiefly remarkable for a certain pertness and flippancy of language which vulgarizes the tone of his best comedies. Yet are they

more agreeable than Congreve's or Vanbrugh's. The excesses of his men about town, and even the frauds of his adventurers appear to be the result of overflowing spirits and the love of good fellowship rather than of perverted instincts or vicious principles; and when emergencies occur to develop them, their heart is always found to be in the right place. In one instance—Lady Lurewell—he has drawn a heartless and abandoned woman of quality; but the sympathies of the piece are entirely against her; and if she escapes more favorably than she deserves, we can see that it is only because in her case strict poetical justice would be inconsistent with the spirit of comedy.

We have left ourselves space but for a cursory review of Farquhar's comedies; but this is the less to be regretted as his plays still keep possession of the stage and are better known than those of his predecessors. "Love and a Bottle," produced at Drury Lane in 1698, is the poorest. The "pert, low dialogue," for which the author has been censured, is particularly conspicuous in this play; the incidents are extravagant, and are only partially redeemed by the picturesque *dénouement*. The "Constant Couple," produced in 1700, and its sequel, "Sir Harry Wildair," in the following year, are much better. Sir Harry is an admirable creation. Reckless and dissipated, but not altogether profligate or unfeeling, we see in his worst periods a germ of excellence in his devotion to the memory of his wife, (supposed deceased), and we part with him in full confidence that Angelica's return will ensure his effectual reformation. Lady Lurewell is more like a French *lorette* than an Englishwoman of quality, but we feel there is some palliation for her career in the early blight cast on her youth. We hope the best for her for poor Standard's sake, but feel no confidence in the duration of her repentance. The "Inconstant," is a prose version of Fletcher's "Wild Goose Chase."* This comedy is still occasionally acted, and is always popular. The "Twin Rivals," contains

* It has the brilliancy and vivacity of the original without the poetic beauty; but the *dénouement*, taken from an incident in actual life, is altogether an improvement on Fletcher.

too much heartless villainy to be agreeable; but the villainy prospers only for a time, and satisfactory poetical justice is done at the conclusion. The "Recruiting Officer," and the "Beaux Stratagem," are the best of Farquhar's comedies, and are still favorites on the stage. In these plays we escape altogether from the tainted London atmosphere, and enjoy the genuine English country life. The moral tone of the "Recruiting Officer" is certainly not very high; and even in the "Beaux Stratagem" Mrs. Sullen's honor is almost too narrowly saved to accord with our modern ideas of propriety.

With the accession of the house of Hanover a change was gradually effected in the style of theatrical entertainments. A taste for the melodramatic German school was developed; for intricate plots, stirring incidents and strong situations; also for sentimental heroes and heroines and a strongly enforced moral. Consequently, although the comedies of Wycherley, Congreve, Vanbrugh and Farquhar continued to be performed, their style was no longer popular among dramatic authors, and the artificial comedy proper may be said to have terminated with Farquhar, although Sheridan, more than half a century later, revived its spirit, though divested of its grossness, in the "Rivals," the "School for Scandal," and the "Trip to Scarborough." When we consider its general tendencies, the disappearance of the artificial comedy is not to be regretted. It elevated vice into the dignity of a fine art; it stifled the nobler sentiments of our nature and gave currency to those the most degrading; it invited the middle and lower classes to the practice of profligacy and knavery, by presenting these qualities as the characteristics of their superiors, and rendered the theatre, which should be a school of morals and manners, the medium of the foulest corruption. When we read these plays we are at no loss to comprehend the traditional horror in which many conscientious people, even in our own day, regard everything connected with the stage. At the same time, we feel that the artificial comedy, like all other institutions, has its recognized place in literature and history. We can read it with interest, feeling that in its very literalness and freedom of speech it brings us into closed communion with those of a

by-gone age, and tells us that of their daily life which no professed writer on manners and morals could have done so well. It has done more; for in the dramas which have been preserved to our own time, we have not only a description but a *fac simile* of the manners of our ancestors. In acting comedy, each generation of artists, copying the manners and deportment of their predecessors, we have the minutest peculiarities of dress and manner, as it were, photographed. We see how our ancestors dressed, walked and sat; what ceremonies they practised on salutation and leave-taking, and all the little details which no mere writer of history could catch, and of which no description could convey a full idea. For these reasons the remains of the old artificial comedies have a title to a place in our libraries, and to the perusal of all for whom the study of the real life of the past possesses an interest.

ART. V.—1. *Grammar of Ornament.* By OWEN JONES. London. 1868.

2. *Principles of Decorative Design.* By CHRISTOPHER DRESSER. London. 1872.

3. *Manual of Design.* By RICHARD REDGRAVE, R. A. London. 1876.

4. *Art Education.* By WALTER SMITH. Boston. 1872.

5. *Modern Art Education. Its Practical and Æsthetical Character, Educationally Considered.* By Prof. JOSEPH LANGL. Vienna. *Being part of the Official Report on the Vienna World's Fair*, 1873. *Translated with Notes.* By S. R. KOEHLER. *With an American Preface.* By CHARLES B. STETSON. Boston. 1875.

"No wonder God made a world to express his thought! Who that has a soul for beauty does not feel the need of creating and that the power of creation alone can satisfy the spirit? When I thus reflect, the artist seems the only fortunate man." Thus wrote Margaret Fuller, and in these few words she gives expression to the very soul of art.

This need is universal; every one will recognize it as a motive more or less strong in his own life—the need to create, the desire to stamp upon something in this world the seal of his individual thought and effort. This it is which leads men in all conditions of life—even the savage and barbarous nations—after having satisfied the physical wants, to turn at once to the ornamentation of their dwellings, their weapons and implements. It is this longing of the human heart after the infinite; this need to create as God creates; this love of nature, His work, and the desire to imitate it, which has produced art—perhaps we might better say, which is art.

Although the same fundamental principles underlie both the fine arts and the industrial arts, it will be well for us to distinguish clearly between them. Both depend upon Nature, the great lawgiver; both, if worthy the name of art, embody and

express an idea; yet the application of these laws is different in the two cases, as the idea expressed is different. In the fine arts, as for instance a picture, the effort is to present to us a truth in nature through the medium of another mind, to embody a living thought, to appeal to our intellect, our sentiment, our affection; and it does appeal to us, as material nature never does, for it is nature brought near to us through the sympathy of human minds. The fine arts are the loving interpreters of nature's truths: this is their office and mission. And let it be here understood that mere copying of nature is not art. As one of our most eloquent art writers has said, "so degrading a thing is deception even in the approach or appearance of it, that all painting which even reaches the mark of apparent realization is degraded in so doing." *

Another art writer says: "Each and every art has its own mode of rendering nature—not necessarily implying *deception* or complete imitation; thus, for instance, the art of sculpture is a generalized imitation of form, and even the painter of high art does not desire to make his picture deceptively imitative, but listens with impatience to the remarks of the ignorant, who are apt to praise his work for this quality above others proper to it which they do not understand." †

In the ages of the past, when art reached its highest development among the Egyptians and the Greeks; in the days of Raphael and Michael Angelo, both in fine art and ornamental art, it was always a *representation* of nature—an interpretation, never servile copying. Mere imitation, mere copying of nature, or copying of other styles or other works, without the inspiring motive of the original, has ever marked decline in art. Industrial art, on the other hand, is that art which shapes to forms of beauty our houses, fabrics, and all our articles of daily use; that art which first shapes the constructive form, then ornaments, embellishes, enriches, thus bringing the spirit of the beautiful into our daily lives and occupations.

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* Ruskin. *Seven Lamps*, p. 31.

† *Manual of Design*, compiled from the writings and addresses of Richard Redgrave, R. A., p. 73.

Prof. Smith defines *industrial drawing* as a term which "may be taken to include instruction in such branches of drawing as will make all those engaged in industrial occupations better workmen, through the improvement of their knowledge and elevation of their taste." *

Something of the difference between fine art and industrial art will be understood by considering the difference in their leading motives. In fine art the motive is to express an idea, to embody a thought; in industrial art the first motive must ever be *use* and *fitness*. First of all must be considered the utility of the object designed or ornamented, otherwise it becomes a hinderance and an annoyance, rather than a joy and pleasure. The ornament may be as ideal and poetical as possible—the more so the better—but it must ever be subordinate to the idea of use. And any ornament which interferes with use is untrue to the leading motive. "Ornament is essentially the accessory to, and not the substitute for, the useful." †

At the present day, especially in this country, there seems to prevail an idea that only those can be artists—that is, painters and sculptors—who possess genius, which is regarded as some mysterious inborn power; but that any one can be an architect or an ornamental decorator. It is thought to require no unusual power and but little study to design patterns for the various manufactured goods, scarcely one of which, from our carpets and furniture, articles of dress, etc., down to our spoons and forks, but is embellished in some way intended to beautify it. That which is popular, that which is fashionable, or which for the time seems, to our uneducated taste, to be pretty is considered all-sufficient, and will be so considered until the general public, those who buy and use as well as those who supply, are educated to discern between the truly beautiful and artistic, and that which merely pleases on account of its novelty or startling effect.

Many think that any one can fulfill the requirements of art applied to industry. The truth is, but little has been

* *Art Education.* By Walter Smith, p. 11.

† *Analysis of Ornament.* By R. N. Wornum, p. 9.

thought about it until lately, when world's fairs and centennial exhibitions have brought the works of different nations into close comparison and competition. We forget that in days gone by no less an artist than Michael Angelo considered it no degradation of his great talent or his much loved art to become the architect of St. Peter's, and still more, to paint its walls with those wonderful frescoes which are the admiration of mankind. Indeed, during the middle ages and later in the time of the Renaissance, the artist and the designer were identical. The great German, Italian and Flemish artists were alike the painters of the altar-pieces and the frescoes of the churches. They were also the designers of the furniture for churches and palaces; the designers of the chalices, the reliquaries and even the robes of the priests.

In those days not only the design for the work but the work itself was done by hand, and, in a great measure, by the artists themselves. But since the use of machinery, the manufacturer has arisen, and designing has been left in many countries to another, and, we fear, in many cases, to an inferior class of artists.* Many fail to realize that manufacture by machinery should give new motives and new opportunities to the designer. It is to be regretted that the various departments of art are so separated as they are in the present day. We need far more of the ideal and poetical element of the fine arts in our design. It is true the present state of things requires that the world's work should be divided between a great number of people; but the specialist, while devoting of necessity (for art is long, and life is short), the greater part of his time to his own department, ought to gain all that he can of those kindred arts which must, more or less, enter into his own. And, until we learn to regard all art, even that of the decorator and designer, more reverently, as worthy of the best power God has given to man, and to comprehend the spirit of genius more intelligently, the fine arts must ever remain to us a mystery, and we shall continue to degrade the ornamental arts to a mere trade or craft.

* Vide *Manual of Design*, p. 155.

The various styles of art and their modifications have grown up from different causes. Here and there through all the ages have arisen stronger minds with a more intense need and a keener perception of nature's laws, which are the laws of the great Artist, the Creator of all, and they have influenced and led those about them, and stamped upon their works and the works of others the individuality of their own great minds. The styles have also been influenced by climate, by the national temperament, and more than all perhaps by that which was of most vital interest to them at the time, as religion; indeed, religion, probably more than anything else has been the inspiration in forming the peculiarities of the various styles in art. In all ages, wealth has been lavished on temples, churches, and cathedrals. Upon nothing else has been expended so much labor and so much of the best art. It was natural that the sentiments of the prevailing religion should have been the inspiring motive in the form and ornamentation of the places consecrated to their use, whether it expressed itself in the hieroglyphics of the Egyptians, in the purely æsthetic aspirations of the Greeks, who ever strove "to arrive at a perfection worthy of the gods"; in the conventional forms and tracery of the Mahommedans; or in the Gothic, and other forms of the Christian styles.

Before the days of railroads, steamboats and telegraphs, when the means of communication between the different nations and peoples were far more limited, the arts were shaped much more by local influences or by the leading minds in each country. Each age and each nation had a style of art peculiar to itself, a style which was the outgrowth of its own peculiar temperament and character, and its particular stage of civilization. We see to-day that the works of China and Japan, the countries slowest to yield to the pressure for commercial intercourse, are markedly different from the modern works of other nations. There will always be marked characteristics and national peculiarities in the work of different countries, certainly in anything worthy the name of national art; but the tendency of the intimate relations of the present day, the influence of world's fairs in bringing together the works of various nations

is to lead us to inquire: What has formed this or that peculiar style? And we naturally look back of the work to learn what influences, and, more than all, what manner of art-education has led to the given result. *Art-Science* is the phrase which has been applied to the comparatively modern study of styles, of motives which have developed styles, and of the laws of art generally. A great deal of the best art has undoubtedly been in one sense, inspired, yet in no mysterious sense; the greatest masters have been the greatest workers, the most diligent in study, for as Klesmer says, in Daniel Deronda, : "Genius at first is little more than a great capacity for receiving discipline;" and art science is showing us more and more, every day, that although much of art must be an expression of the individual heart and mind, it must come from a *feeling* for art, as it is termed; yet the heart and mind may be educated to love and perceive art, and the feeling awakened and intensified by training. Even those who are undoubtedly inspired of genius, so far as genius ever is an inspiration, are consciously or unconsciously governed by certain laws and principles—laws and principles which may be studied and learned. Art-Science is developing for us the ways and methods of art education; and the people of America who have developed the public school system, are the people who will know how wisely and well to engraft upon it the roots of that branch of education which more than anything else can prepare them to compete successfully with older nations in the commercial contests which are undoubtedly to be the chief contests of coming years.

Very few people on this side of the Atlantic have realized the great importance of art education until within a few years. We, the youngest nation, have of necessity devoted a large part of our first century of national existence to subduing a new country and establishing a new government. A large proportion of our people have been engaged in agriculture and the mechanical arts, others in the building of cities and the various practical pursuits necessary for the establishment and maintenance of a new country and nationality. For many years, also, the energy as well as the lives of a large number of the noblest of our population has been given to one of the greatest

civil wars the world has known. Nevertheless, many mighty results have been accomplished, and now come days of peace—days, also, in which the means for providing the necessities and many of the luxuries of our national life are more than assured. The time has never been in the history of the world when all these things could be accomplished with so little manual labor as in America to-day. For, if we add to our rich inheritance of experience from other nations, all the labor-saving machines, for the invention of which America has so eminently distinguished herself, we shall see that all the rude labor of agriculture, manufacture, etc., has never before been accomplished on such a magnificent scale with so little manual labor. David A. Wells claims that in the United States, since 1860, the average gain to the power of production has not been less than fifteen to twenty per cent.; and to prove this statement to be within reasonable limits, he refers to the fact that it is within this time that "the very great improvements in machinery adapted to agriculture have come into general use; that where, a few years ago, men on the great plains of the West cut grain with the cradle and sickle, toiling from early dawn to dewy eve, in the hottest period of the year, the same work may be done now almost as a matter of recreation, the director of a mechanical reaper entering the field behind a pair of horses, with gloves on his hands and an umbrella over his head, and in this style finishing the work in one-tenth of the time formerly required, and in a manner much more satisfactory." *

We cannot think the inventive genius of our people is yet exhausted. Nor can we doubt that the proportion of production to manual labor will continue to increase; but even now, witness the result: many are standing idle in the market place; but few are required to do the work and consequently but few get the places or the pay. What, therefore, shall be done with all this surplus energy? What shall be done to provide honest work and adequate pay for the many who justly demand it? Our answer is, *Art education*. This has ever been the case

* From an address by David A. Wells, before the American Social Science Association, at Detroit, May 11, 1875.

when the physical necessities are satisfied and the necessary and practical affairs of life attended to: the energies of man being still unexhausted, his next step in the natural order of progress is *Art*.

Prof. Joseph Langl says of America, in his official report on the Vienna World's Fair of 1873, that "so long as America is in her development, so long as the material aims of life are the only concern of her people, and so long as all the energies of the country are devoted to these aims, there can be no thought of ideal aspirations. And whenever anything of the kind is proposed, the attempt is limited to the continuation of traditions brought over from Europe. But these traditions are more likely to wither than to flourish in so strange an atmosphere. The productions of America in art, and especially in sculpture, are of European origin. Industry is bent upon usefulness, rather than upon artistic beauty, and individuality of taste is as yet out of the question. The leading cities of Europe will have to satisfy the wants of luxury in America for some time to come."*

This has undoubtedly been true in the past, but is not the day near at hand when we shall have in this country sufficient interest and energy, in excess of that required to supply the material wants of life, to take another step upward and onward? Is this not sufficiently evident from the crowding of all the present avenues for work and occupation, and the number of persons who are vainly looking everywhere for employment? More education, and particularly art education, is undoubtedly the next step for us. Provide those who are unemployed with the ability to do that which cannot now be done in this country except by foreign educated artisans and workmen, and you will add at once to the material wealth of the country, as well as to its intellectual good, individually and collectively.

It may be argued that many of those who are now out of employment would make very poor artisans or art workmen,

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* *Modern Art Education.* By Professor Joseph Langl, of Vienna. Being part of the Austrian official report on the Vienna World's Fair of 1873.

even if educated. This may be true regarding individuals; but when we as a people have become educated in the general principles of art, those who are suited to do the art work will advance to it, and leave other occupations to those of other endowments.

Prof. Langl still further says that, "taste can only be educated by means of well organized Museums and thorough instruction in art in the schools; but in both these particulars America is still upon the lowest stage." But the time has come for us to put forth serious effort to remedy this defect. Its importance to our national welfare is too obvious for comment. We can now produce all the corn, raw cotton, etc., for which we can find a market; we can also supply in rude manufactures, or in manufactures requiring only ordinary mechanical dexterity, all and more than the demand, and also at the lowest price. Our products are not wanting in quantity: What now can we do to improve their quality, to make them compete successfully in the markets of the world? This country is not destined to be as Japan and China have been, exclusive and isolated; indeed, the time for such exclusiveness is fast passing away even for them. Commercial intercourse of nations is becoming more intimate and reciprocal every day, and it is in the markets of the world and in competition with those of other nations that our products and manufactures must be brought. And where our national prosperity as well as our national reputation is at stake, it will not do for us to depend on our Yankee wit alone, nor on a policy of *laissez-faire*.

In this broad and varied competition, the truly excellent will soon be sifted from the unworthy and meretricious. And it should be remembered that it is the *art quality* of our manufactures, far more than the material used, or mere manual dexterity, which will determine their comparative excellence. Charles Stetson forcibly observes that, "The different governments realize that henceforth national supremacy must depend more upon industrial supremacy; and so for this peaceful warfare, not the less real because bloodless, each is arming itself with the best weapons that art and science can furnish, In the camp, soldiers are drilled no less than of old; but in the schools,

children and youth are trained with a direct view to labor, as they never were trained before. Of all things, the pencil is recognized as the most efficient ally of the needle-gun. While the latter wins victories on the field of carnage, the former wins them in great industrial tournaments that bring together the rival products of the whole working world. In the one case it is a battle of bullets, in the other a battle of forms; and Europe has learned that provision should be made no less against defeat in the battle of forms than in the battle of bullets."*

Intelligence and culture are, then, the elements of most worth to the individual or to the nation; and so a manufactured article which has cost the least in material, and has employed the greatest amount of intelligence in its artistic construction and ornamentation, has added most to the wealth of the world. There is hardly any limit to the value which taste can add to any object regardless of the cost of the crude material. R. N. Wornum, in his *Analysis of Ornament*, very truly says: "In early stages of manufacture, it is mechanical fitness that is the object of competition. As society advances, it is necessary to combine elegance with fitness; and those who cannot see this, must be content to send their wares to the ruder markets of the world, and resign the great marts of commerce to men of superior taste and sounder judgment, who *deserve* a higher reward. This is no new idea. Let us take a lesson from the experience of past ages. The vari-colored glass of Egypt, the figured cups of Sidon, the shawls of Miletus, the terra-cottas of Samos, the bronzes of Corinth, did not command the markets of the ancient world, either for their materials or for their mechanical qualities; not because they were well-blown, cleverly chased, finely woven, ingeniously turned, or perfectly cast—these qualities they had in common with the similar wares of other nations—but in the gratification of one of the most refined necessities of the mind in an advanced social state, they were preëminent—they were objects of an elegant cultivated taste. It is by this æsthetic character alone, that manufactur-

*American Preface to *Modern Art Education*.

ers will ever establish that substantial renown which will insure a lasting market in the civilized world."

It is evident from this why French goods are so universally admired and sought, as well in European countries as in America. Why France, particularly in articles of dress, is admitted to be the standard of taste,—because of the superior art-culture and refinement displayed in all her goods and manufactures. Not that the French, as a people, are endowed by nature with more genius; not that they were born originally with a keener perception of the beautiful than the people of other countries, but because for centuries they have fostered and cultivated the artistic taste and skill, not only of their designers and artisans, but all classes of their people by art schools and Museums. As has been truly said, her drawing schools form the true basis of her wealth and prosperity. If it were necessary to multiply examples, it might be said that while we have cotton, and cotton manufactories in such abundance in this country, we prefer the more beautiful calicoes and cambrics of France and England. American ladies have been accused of affectation in the purchase of foreign rather than domestic goods. It is considered by some as a whim of fashion that they prefer to have their hats from Paris; their laces from Brussels; their shawls from India. But however much some may be influenced in this regard by fashion, there is a better and truer reason for this preference. And when American goods are equal to foreign goods in quality and beauty, the fact will be recognized in the purchase of our home products, for surely our people—even our fashionable ladies—are not slow to recognize our own merit.

It is a significant fact in this connection, that in 1870, the total value of the cotton goods manufactured in the United States, was $177,489,739, while the cost of the raw material is estimated at $100,000,000. It will be seen that the manufacturer added to the value much less than the cost of the cotton. In England, on the other hand, the value added by the manufacturer is much more than the cost of the raw material. Thus in the same year, their cotton manufactures yielded $447,096,000, of which the raw material cost $202,296,000.

And it must be remembered that cotton costs more there than it does here, and the labor *in manufacture much less.**

What, then, was it that added so much to the value of English goods over the cost of the raw material? Artistic skill and taste. But must articles of luxury, and things of beauty continue to be furnished America by other countries, while she sends them in return cotton, corn, wheat and tobacco? Must she continue to import the products of skill and art, and export only the products of the soil and ruder manufactures? Will the people of the United States be content to remain as they now are by general consent at the foot of all the civilized nations of the earth in the art qualities of their manufactures? We trust not.

Again, consider the cost of transportation. Charles Stetson has estimtated it would require 19,000,000 bushels of Illinois corn to pay for three kinds of skilled artistic manufactures imported to America in 1873 from little Switzerland alone. The goods were watches, embroidered goods, silk and silk goods to the value of $9,839,464, at the place of shipment. How much less the cost in transporting these goods than the immense amount of corn (if the payment were made in corn), required to balance the account!

The political economy of art education is a question of great magnitude, and one which the limit of this article admits of but few suggestions.

Another important point, however, must not be overlooked, viz., the value to woman of art education, particularly of industrial art. It opens many new avenues of employment to her, the number of which has been always too limited for the many who, with refined and delicate natures, are obliged to earn the means of their own support, and who wish to find in their labor itself some pleasure and satisfaction beside the dollars it brings to them.

Prof. Walter Smith testifies warmly to the natural fitness of women for these occupations. After recommending the education and employment of women as teachers of art, he

* Vide *Modern Art Education*, p. 25.

says: "There are also many branches of art workmanship requiring delicate fingers and native readiness of taste, which could be better performed by women than men. It seems to me that an infinite amount of good would be done by opening up the whole field of art instruction and art industry to the gentler sex, and I do hope that whenever a great scheme of art education is founded, either here or elsewhere, there shall be absolutely no distinction made concerning the eligibility or disqualification of sex in the students."* He also says, in speaking of the school at South Kensington, England, that there are more lady pupils than men, and that "the success of the lady pupils, to put it in the very mildest form, is greater than that of the male students, and this in the face of infinitely greater difficulties arising from limitations of subjects of study," etc.

In speaking of the school at South Kensington, we are led to the consideration of the new movement in favor of art education in England, Germany, France and other countries. At the first Universal Exposition in London in 1851, England found herself below all other European countries in the production of manufactures involving taste; and the United States alone stood below her. She immediately put forth the most strenuous efforts to remedy this deficiency. The government made the most munificent expenditures; they formed a new section in the Privy Council under the name of the Science and Art Department, which had for its object the furtherance of science and art applied to industry. The South Kensington Museum was established in 1852, at an original cost of six millions of dollars, and an annual grant from the government of five hundred thousand dollars. This is not only a museum, but a school, and the head centre of art education in England. It gives instruction in fine art and industrial art, and educates free of cost those who are thought to possess special fitness for art matters. They also established throughout the kingdom, in all the important industrial towns, art schools for instruction in drawing, modeling and designing. These schools are supported

* *Art Education*, p. 29.

partly by the government and partly by local authorities and fees. In 1872 they numbered 122, and were attended by 22,845 students, beside the 765 at South Kensington. They had also 538 evening classes for instruction in drawing to artisans.*

At the second Universal Exposition in London in 1862, the art manufacture of England showed a marked advancement. The progress had been so rapid, so much had been accomplished in so short a time that even France began to look to her laurels. "The following year the emperor appointed a large and able commission, which were divided into sections, to investigate the subject of technical education in particular. In 1865, this commission submitted an elaborate report, showing what the situation was at home and in all parts of Europe. They declared that *drawing, with all its applications to the different industrial arts, should be considered as the principal means to be employed in technical instruction.*" They made various other recommendations, which were acted upon at once by the government, "and the art instruction of France, which had so long been the best in Europe for industrial purposes, was in various points reconstructed and made better still." †

Germany also, notwithstanding her military exigencies during this period of art revival elsewhere, has not neglected her drawing schools. Immediately after the war with France, the authorities of the various industial towns of Prussia were called upon, in a circular issued by the Ministers of Commerce and Industry, to follow the example of France in the organization of drawing and industrial schools, and their attention was directed to the industrial importance of these schools, and to the fact that they form the true basis of the wealth of France. Regulations in regard to teachers of free-hand drawing and modeling in the industrial schools were prepared at the same time." ‡

In Austria the movement in favor of art education is even

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* Vide *Modern Art Education.*

† *Modern Art Education*, p. 7.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

more marked. The Museum of Art and Industry at Vienna is similar to the South Kensington Museum in England, and exerts an equally beneficial influence over the other schools of the country. But it is needless to speak of each country; the impulse has been universal throughout all Europe within the last twenty-five or thirty years, and everywhere the most generous provision is being made by the various governments, and new art schools, new museums and new regulations are everywhere established. These movements have been observed by a few thoughtful, practical men in this country, who in Massachusetts petitioned the Legislature to take action in the matter for that State, and in May, 1870, a law was passed including drawing among the branches which are required to be taught in the public schools, and requiring every city or town with over 10,000 inhabitants to provide annually for free instruction in industrial drawing. A few years later, or in 1875, a similar law relative to drawing in public schools, was passed in the State of New York. In Massachusetts the law was acted upon at once, and Professor Walter Smith, a graduate of South Kensington and for many years art master at Leeds, England, came over and was placed at the head of this department, with the title of State Director of Art Education. His efforts have been untiring, and the work in the public schools of the State have been most effectually organized. That a great deal has already been accomplished, even in this short time, in the public schools, the industrial schools (mostly evening schools), and the Normal Art School, organized in 1873 for the purpose of training art teachers, no one will doubt who visits their annual exhibitions in Boston.

But we must remember that art is like a plant, of slow growth. With our most generous and earnest effort, and that wisely and judiciously directed, it will require many years to produce the ripe fruits of a national art. Not that we may not have marked improvement in our work within a few years; but as yet only a small number of our people realize the urgency of the situation, and when they are sufficiently alive to that, there must come long years of art training before our goods, our manufactures, and everything in which taste is or

may be involved, will show as the work of an artistically cultured people.

A great deal has been said by the enthusiastic for drawing in public schools, about draughting, designing, &c., in a way to lead the careless observer to suppose that special training in these departments in the public schools is desirable. This is not the idea or intention of those most judicious in art education; on the contrary, their aim is to give in elementary schools the first laws and principles of art, with sufficient practice to lay the foundation upon which the specialties of any of the various art pursuits may afterwards be built.

Public schools, private schools, or seminaries intended for general education can never take the place of art schools; but while the pupil is young, and his taste and character forming, he should be set in the right course in art as well as in other branches of education. It is impossible for any one to foretell what will be the taste or peculiar fitness of any child; but whether he is destined to become employed in art, or in matters in any way pertaining to art industry, he has, for his own individual good, just as strong a claim for the education of his taste and the correct formation of his artistic perception, as he has for the cultivation of his mathematical or scientific powers. He should learn the elements of art as he should learn the elements of arithmetic; and when he has chosen his vocation, he should receive special training for it in special schools.

With regard to the private schools and seminaries, patronized by the wealthier classes, it may be argued that many of their pupils, particularly girls, will not be obliged to follow any pursuit except for pleasure. But if it is not considered as a bread-earning element, is it not an element of vital importance in general culture? Is not the taste of the wealthy, who have the spending of large fortunes, worth cultivating? A great deal has been said about the lack of taste displayed in our architecture, particularly in our public buildings, also, in the furnishing of our houses. It is said that we spend large sums of money in foreign purchases which will not bear the test of art criticism. Would this be so, if our wealthy classes were educated in matters of taste? If in school they had been

made familiar with classical art, or, indeed, with those styles of art which have been recognized as types of true art? If they had been instructed in regard to the motives which underlie their peculiarities, and the principles which make them beautiful? Could this not be as easily done, and is not a knowledge of the art and culture of the ancient Greeks and Romans as valuable as a knowledge of their wars, their battles, and their leading generals?

The great difficulty which will be experienced in this country, indeed, which has already been realized, in the attempt to establish this new branch of education, is the lack of thoroughly educated teachers and good models. But, let us ever bear in mind that Nature is the great teacher and the source of inspiration for both fine art and industrial art. "Man," says Owen Jones, "appears everywhere impressed with the beauties of Nature which surround him, and seeks to imitate to the extent of his powers the works of the Creator;"* yet the teachings of Nature are not always easy to apprehend, or her laws to understand. But we have our interpreters in the styles of past ages, the works of other countries, and in the leading genius of all times. Let us study them reverently and diligently—not copy them; let us search out the thoughts which have been expressed in all these different art languages and learn thereby how fitly to express our own art thoughts in our own national handicraft.

"The future progress of ornamental art may be best secured by engrafting on the experience of the past the knowledge we may obtain by a return to Nature for fresh inspiration. To attempt to build up theories of art, or to form a style independently of the past, would be an act of supreme folly. It would be at once to reject the accumulated experience of thousands of years. On the contrary, we should regard as our inheritance, all successful labors of the past, not blindly following them, but employing them as guides to find the true path." According to a proverb, "all roads lead to Rome, and whoever is clearly conscious of his aim will reach it sooner or

* *Grammar of Ornament*, p. 13.

later. We can trust the native energy, independence and force of character of the American people to go the right way when once they are intelligently started upon it. The fear is, that they will go slowly and indifferently; that they will waste precious time and fall still farther behind other nations. This danger is more likely from the immense wealth of this country in natural resources which prevents us from realizing the need to develop art resources. While our corn and cotton furnish us with so much wealth, why should we trouble ourselves farther? will, we fear, be a serious question with us. We require the stimulus of some pressing need to urge us to greater and nobler effort in this direction. History shows that great things have been done from the pressure of circumstances, but we are confident the pressure for art education will yet be felt and that our people will rise equal to the occasion.

ART. VI.—1 *The Daily Record of Current Events.* BY THE PARTISAN PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES. 1877.

2. *Impeachment Trials for Peculation in Office.* 1876.

3. *Reports of Congressional Committees on Election Frauds, Credit Mobilier, etc.* 1874–5.

4. *Trials of Indited Officials and Defaulting Government Clerks.* 1875–6.

> "When the wicked beareth rule the people mourn."—*Hebrew Scriptures.*
>
> "Malè imperando summum imperium amittitur."—*Syrus.*
>
> "Il y a des méchants qui seraint moins dangereux, s'ils n'avaient aucune bonté."—*LaRochefoucauld.*

WHEN this article shall have been put in type the contest over the Presidency in the United States will be ended, and Mr. Rutherford B. Hayes inaugurated as Chief Magistrate of the Republic. Such at least is the present tendency of political events.

It is not our purpose in the brief space at our disposal to discuss the legality or the propriety of the means made use of to secure the success of Mr. Hayes, or the defeat of Mr. Tilden; or to examine the personal merits or demerits of either of these very respectable politicians; much less the merits or demerits of either the two great political parties in the United States who are at present struggling with sleepless vigilance for supremacy in the government of the nation and the possession of the national spoils. Our position in politics is at an altitude we hope that removes us from the suspicion of partisan feeling, and enables us to command a wide perspective of the political field and the course and conduct of the political campaign. We rate it chief among our negative virtues to be no politician. But, nevertheless, we

are not altogether blind to the course of political events, or without convictions of a positive character relative to the dangers which beset that course. What we say here and now, therefore, is but a prelude to what we shall attempt to say in a future number of the *Review*.

It is idle to disguise the fact that the political situation in the United States is one of great gravity. It is not because of the success in the government of one party or the defeat of the other; the country is accustomed to events of that kind. Neither is it because a President has been—or will be—"counted in" instead of elected; the country is also used to that. It is rather because the chief object of the contending political parties in the United States, *is the possession of the government and the control of its patronage*. The spoils of office and the greed of place have become paramount to either measures or men. The government has become a political machine to aggrandize political power and pecuniary profit, and is accordingly diverted from its just intent and object—the management and conservation of the temporal interests of the nation.

It is not too much to say that the best informed of both parties in political matters were mutually agreed as to the result of the election twelve hours after the polls had closed on the 7th of November last. There was then no doubt in the minds of any of either party as to the success at the polls of the national Democratic ticket. Twenty-four hours later the best informed *in government counsels*—the political organs of the administration—were confident of the success of the national Republican ticket, and have continued to be so ever since, regardless of the complexion of the election returns or technical defects in the qualification of some of its electors. And it was with good reason. The key State in the arch of the ad-

ministration success was *in the control of administration canvassers and government officials.* As time wore on and returns came in from Southern parishes, those favorable to the administration were joyfully received by it as valid; those unfavorable, as fraudulent, or "bulldozed," and therefore invalid. And to one conversant with the local election laws, which had been ingeniously—perhaps wisely—framed by supporters of the party in power to meet and provide for just such an emergency as had come, it was as clear how the "count" would end as any other inevitable event in nature—as the course of wind and rain, the ebb and flow of the tides, or the procession of the seasons. After months of delay the inevitable is on the eve of consummation; and the Republican organs who knew so well the government policy from the beginning have been proved to be true prophets. The suspicious fact that the politically wise in this juncture were administration organs may be a pure coincidence; but no American politician in possession of his wisdom teeth has sufficient confidence in the political honesty of his political opponents, or is sufficiently ignorant of party engineering—not to say chicanery—to attribute this strange confluence of circumstances to a coincidence—and least of all a democratic politician. Be that as it may, we can but fear that our astute republican brethren have set a precedent of party engineering which their opponents will some day be too likely to follow with all the modern improvements thrown in. That they will then give measure for measure, press down and running over, one can readily believe who is familiar with that party's antecedents.

We attach but little importance to the tricks which parties practice on each other in their strife for success, contemptible as they proverbially are; nor has either party a right to complain of the other in that regard. When men play for stakes

it is expected that they will make the most of their hand; and one would justly be rated weak or imbecile who should voluntarily fail to take advantage of a lead to make a point and win a prize. We repeat, therefore, that it is not so much the method and means by which a political party achieves triumph in the government, as it is the use which it makes of its triumph. No nation has yet seen the day when fraud was not practised in its elections; we fear no nation ever will. The people, however, have a right to expect protection from whichever party gains the ascendancy, whether it be gained by fraud, or force, or otherwise; and to complain and even to rebel when the successful party fails to give them the needed protection. And all history shows that a government which fulfills its function, provides for the social welfare and prosperity of its subjects—the people—is triumphantly supported by them, though the means made use of by it to gain power were so vile as to make the name of man a disgrace to his origin, even though it be so low as Darwin says it is.

Nor does it make much difference what kind of a person wears the crown, or sits in the presidential chair, or which party gains the ascendancy in the government, so that competency is at the helm. Political virtue bears no necessary relation to personal virtue. A good man may be a bad ruler, and a bad man a good ruler; and a party of the lowest respectability may save a country which has been ruined by a party of the highest. These statements may seem paradoxical to many; but their truth is too apparent on the pages of history to make it necessary to cite illustrations. It is true it is more becoming that the central figure in the government should be a person of dignity and self-respect, and of sober, temperate habits; neither smoking nor chewing; given to wine bibbing nor to horse racing; gluttony nor idleness. And if he be familiar

with the science of government it would be no disadvantage to him. But so that he fulfill well his part, or prove no hinderance to others doing it for him, it is practically a matter of little importance whether he have brains or lack brains, or whether he be virtuous or vicious. In one of the most critical periods of the Reformation in England, be it remembered, a boy but a few years old sat on the English throne. And in another period in English history equally critical, not only for the cause of the Reformation, but for the political life of the English nation itself, a woman wore the crown. The people were, nevertheless, preserved and the cause of liberal Christianity maintained. The demagogue in politics, in office or out of it, either overlooks or is ignorant of these things when he tries to persuade the ignorant voter that the fate of the nation hangs on the election of his favorite man to Congress or to the Presidency.

Above and beyond then, the strife of parties and the tricks of demagogues, the political outlook in the United States is by no means encouraging. The experience of ancient Rome is being lived over again. He who holds office is a patrician; he who does not is a plebian. The country is being mobilized into offices and places for political aspirants; and the people are being taxed for their maintenance. Before the war of the Rebellion there were less than thirty thousand office-holders and place-men in the nation. Now there are, it is said, more than a hundred thousand of them; and any man who makes himself more than ordinarily serviceable to the party in power is rewarded with a salaried place, even though a new one has to be created for him. Even so good a man as Mr. Lincoln indulged in this anomaly. It has come to be regarded as a matter of course that a man who has done his party the best service must have the highest place in its gift. Accordingly the

attorney who lately defended the republican cause before the electoral commission, is named by general consent for Secretary of State under the prospective administration. Unless we greatly mistake the man he will decline the proffered reward, and content himself with his present position, which is superior to any within the gift of his party—and vastly more honorable. Moreover, a good lawyer may not unlikely make a poor Secretary of State.

If this vast army of office-holders were needed in the government service to do the legitimate work of the government, there would be no just cause of complaint. But the worst of the matter is that many of the places are mere sinecures with good salaries. Many, too, are mere honoraries, like the custom-house chiefs and principal postmasters, who draw large salaries and leave the actual work of their offices to men with small salaries; while they, themselves, attend to packing caucuses, nominating conventions, and rewarding loyal camp followers with subordinate positions, at the public expense, in place of those who are disaffected or suspected of political heresy. One of the most pitiable political sights we remember to have seen of late was the rush of office-holders, above the rank of a custom-house weigher, many of them self-elected delegates, to the convention which nominated the prospective incumbent of the White House. And a noisier set of hairless bipeds it is impossible to imagine! Each had his specific in the form of a man and a political "plank" to "save the country!" Altogether the spectacle reminded us of the conduct of certain hungry beasts of prey wild with the scent of game. And, indeed, it was game these men sought.

But how strange the spectacle of conventions of office-holders and office-seekers, the one republican, the other democratic, passing resolutions recommending Civil Service Reform!

That of a convention of tailors resolving in favor of *sans-culottism* would be no comparison to it! The reform of the Civil Service, indeed! The cry of Civil Service Reform has been raised so long and so often, by demagogues of both political parties, that the phrase has become a by-word, and the reform itself a synonym for a farce. We very much doubt if a majority of those who are most clamorous in the demand for Civil Service Reform have any just, comprehensive conception of what they mean by the terms, or of the means by which it is to be effected.

In our view, to reform the Civil Service in the United States is to reform American politics. The twain are inseparable. The reform of the Civil Service, means first, filling the offices with competent persons—with men and women qualified by education and training to faithfully perform the official duties required of them.

In the second place, it means separating the offices from the rewards of political service. It is quite obvious that so long as office is a prize to be won by other means than faithful service *in office*, there can be no reform in the Civil Service; the right man can never succeed to the right place, except by a happy coincidence. And it is unreasonable to expect efficiency in the government service on any other system of procedure than that which is followed in the trades and professions, viz.: Apprenticeship. Government servants are made such, not born. If they ever become competent in their positions, *it must be through promotions, not appointments;* in the same way precisely that bank officers are made, or merchants, journalists, lawyers, physicians, generals, and other experts in trade, science and art. An expert in one calling may be a fool in another. A grand speaker is very generally a poor writer. A fine chemist has been known to be a bungling theologian. The success-

ful politician is apt to be a failure in statesmanship; and all know that a noble General has made an ignoble President. The history of the United States is crowded with the record of lives of good men whose reputations have been wrecked, and the men themselves put under a shadow through all eternity because of the disregard of these obvious truths. They were faithful in some things and their political (self-seeking) friends falsely persuaded them that therefor ethey were qualified to do other things. Alas! How many political wrecks there are, at heart good men and true, who have had good reason to wish to be saved from their political friends. Of them it must be written: Damned from undue ambition for office! Would heaven that our rulers might learn wisdom from these things, and at least save their friends if they will not save themselves.

In the third place, Civil Service Reform means putting down the emoluments of the offices so low as to remove them from the category of things to be coveted by the vain and ambitious. It should be born in mind that the laws which govern the performance of official trusts do not differ from, or are no exception to, those that govern the performance of other trusts. In general, the man who barters for a price for service is incapable of rendering a faithful service. His eye is so firmly fixed on the reward that he is necessarily oblivious of the service. The fitness to do begets a love for the thing done; and the love of any work or service, official or otherwise, is the sole inspiration for the highest achievement in such work or service. For this reason we say: Remove the Civil Service of the nation from the temptations of cupidity. Otherwise no radical reform in it can rationally be expected. The place should seek the man, and not man the place; and we repeat, we should rate any man, from a police constable to a chief magistrate,

unfit for a position which was voluntarily sought by him. In general it is the idler and the shirk that seek places of preferment. The life of ease and of easy-gotten gains tempts them to seek posts requiring little exertion and large emoluments. Nothing is more natural than that persons of such characteristics should prove in office to be either knaves or fools.

On the other hand, a man who is competent to fulfill posts of trust and responsibility never wants for them. He finds the world's work so immense and near at hand, that his hands are always full; and he advances by steady process, by toil and sweat, from little things to great achievements. Besides, the most competent workers are willing to work for the least compensation; and it is an interesting fact in the history of the world's industry, that the greatest and most meritorious toilers in art and science, in literature and the productive industries, have always had the least pay. The love of their work and the devotion which such love inspires, mentally unfit them for craftiness in trade, or sharp practice in exchange. And it is so in this country to-day. It is the political drones in possession of sinecures, that draw the largest salaries. The men and women who do the work in the secretaryships, custom-houses, post-offices, etc., etc., who live by work rather than wit, are under, rather than overpaid.

In the fourth place, therefore, Civil Service Reform means the rigorous abolition of sinecures. Let every unnecessary office be forever dispensed with, and the drones who fill it turned adrift, or put to hard labor. If it be necessary to reward political camp-followers for doing the dirty political work of the party, let it be by fees and not by a system that perpetrates frauds on the Civil Service and corrupts the industry of the nation.

It will be seen, therefore, that the reform of the Civil Ser-

vice is an undertaking easier conceived and advocated than executed. It is no wonder that the spasmodic attempts to reform it have failed. It is idle to expect the chief-magistrate of the Republic to initiate it, because it is a party that is in power and not a man. Besides, if he were conscientious, it might involve his own abdication in favor of some one better fitted for his position than himself. But no political party is unselfish enough to permit its chief to take such a step. And in respect of a party taking the lead in a reform which would strike off the official heads of its own faithful followers and supporters, the prospect of that is remoter still. To the victors belong the spoils. Men have been known to voluntarily lay down the sceptre and abandon posts they were ill-qualified to fill; but the history of the world affords no example of a *party* pursuing that course. We doubt if it ever will. Party chiefs and party demagogues and politicians may talk reform, may mean reform, nay, may even earnestly and conscientiously desire reform of the Civil Service; but the power they have to contend with is stronger than any of them, and that is exerted in quite an opposite direction. The thirst for power and profit has seized upon the common mind, and like an epidemic, yields not to good intentions of conscientious rulers, or the pious protests and entreaties of political parties. It is like a poison that has infected the blood of the nation. Nothing, we fear, but a fearful eruptive disease, will save it!

The occasion calls for strong men in the public service—philosophers—they "to whom the highest has descended and the lowest has mounted up." In spite of being the richest country in the world in soil, climate and natural resources, the people are becoming the poorest. New York has more paupers than Paris; Massachusetts than France, in proportion to their populations. The people are out of work and bread, and little

children are dying of want, while the political dead-beats in Congress are wrangling over men for the Presidency, neither of whom has proved himself fit for the position! Business men are anxiously waiting the final settlement of the "grave" question, vainly hoping that it will be followed by the revival of business. But business will not revive upon its settlement. The question of Resumption—the forlorn hope of the nation—will next be in order. When that vexed question is definitively adjusted business will surely revive and prosperity come, say the hoping, trusting people. Perhaps they may, but we feel not so sure of it. It costs too much to run the government, for which labor is sorely taxed; the government has too large an interest debt, which the people have to pay; and there are too many individual capitalists supported by this interest account, and who are, therefore, retired from business and industrial pursuits—being independent of work or business—to permit us to be hopeful of the near political and industrial future of the United States. The reduction of the interest account would somewhat relieve the hard pressed taxpayer, and compel the best blood of the nation to leave brokerage, banking, life insurance and genteel leisure, and to engage in productive industry for support, and thus to give employment to millions who are now vainly begging for bread, or quietly dying of starvation because of being too proud to beg.

But howsoever indispensable these measures may be to relieve the anomalies of the political situation, they are not sufficient for the present occasion. The nation is in most urgent need of political philosophers, otherwise statesmen, in the cabinet and other posts of responsibility, to direct the affairs of state, and see that every man has his meed of opportunity to do a man's part in the body politic. It is vastly more important to civilization in America that the avenues of indus-

try—of work, trade and exchange—be opened to the people, than that a man of any particular color or shade of belief, political or otherwise, be elected to the Presidency. Idleness is the bane of a people; and the triple monstrosity poverty, pauperism and crime is its legitimate offspring. We maintain, therefore, that it is a grave fallacy in a government to pursue the exploded policy *laissez-faire*, and neglect to place competent men in charge of the Ship of State, especially in one of the greatest economic storms the world has seen. Let us hope that the government of the United States will appreciate the emergency of the hour and prove itself equal to the occasion.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

HISTORY.

Norse Mythology. By Prof. R. B. ANDERSON. Crown, 8vo., pp. 478. Chicago: Messrs. Griggs & Co. 1876.

IN this book Prof. Anderson has placed the English speaking public under great obligations for the creditable manner in which he has presented an interesting subject—that of Northern Mythology. The subject is not new to scholars, of course. Nor is the presentation of it novel. Still, this is the first attempt that has come to our knowledge, to give a coherent, consistent account of the primitive theology of our Icelandic neighbors. We give the volume a hearty welcome.

Prof. Anderson begins his book with a definition of Mythology:

"Mythology," he writes, "is a system of myths, a collection of popular legends, fables, tales or stories, relating to the gods, heroes, demons, or other beings, whose names have been preserved in popular belief. Such tales are not found in the traditions of the ancient Greeks, Hindoos and Egyptians, only, but every nation has its system of mythology; and that of the ancient Norsemen is more simple, earnest, miraculous, stupendous and divine, than any other system of mythology, of which we have record. * * * * * * When we claim that the Norse mythology is more *divine* than any other system known, we mean by this assertion, that the superior God is mentioned and referred to oftener, and stands out in a bolder relief in the Norseman's heathen belief than in any other."

He tells us how the principal gods of the Norsemen, as in all mythologies, were the forces and elements of Nature personified. Odinis symbolical of the over-arching vault of heaven, his one eye, the sun. Frigg, his wife, is the fruit bearing earth; Balder, his son, represents the summer light; Thor, another son, is the tempestuous storm king. When witnessing the mighty conflicts of the elements, the terrific thunder storm, the black murky clouds shutting out the light of the sun, they said, the god Thor was fighting with giants; riding over the vast expanse of the heavens in his thunder chariot, and launching his huge hammer with frightful force against the rebellious giants. The thunder is his wrath; the gathering of the black clouds, the drawing down of his eyebrows; the rolling of his chariot over the mountain tops, the peal. When he wrathfully blows his red beard, it is the rustling of the storm blasts before the beginning of the thunder.

We say in our prosaical manner, that the seasons revolve in their course,

regularly following one another. The Norseman relates, that the bright god Balder (the summer son) was pierced to the heart with a thorn thrown by Hoder (the dreariness of winter), at the instigation of Loke, (the destroying element in Nature). The hostile powers of Nature they conceived to be Jötuns (giants). They were Frost, Fire, Sea and Tempest. The beneficent powers, such as the sun, the summer-heat, the productive earth, &c., were gods. The universe was divided between the two, each striving for the ascendency:

> "How pleasant were the wild beliefs
> That dwelt in legions old,
> Alas! to our posterity
> Will no such tales be told.
> We know too much; scroll after scroll
> Weighs down our weary shelves,
> Our only point of ignorance
> Is centred in ourselves."

And again, he writes:

"All the so-called disagreeable features of mythology are nothing but distortions brought out by ill will or by a superficial knowledge of the subject; and when these distortions are removed, we shall find only those things lovely and of good report. * * * In its original form this mythology was common to all the Teutonic nations, and it spread itself geographically over England, the most of France and Germany, as well as over Denmark, Sweeden, Norway and Iceland. But when the Teutonic nations parted, took possession of their respective countries, and began to differ one nation from the other, in language, customs, social and political institutions, and were influenced by the peculiar features of the countries which they respectively inhabited, then the germ of mythology, which each nation brought into its changed condition of life, would also be subject to changes and developments in harmony and keeping with the various conditions of climate, customs and political institutions, and other influences which nourished it; while the fundamental myths remained common to all the Teutonic nations. * * * It is only in Iceland that anything like a complete record of this ancient Teutonic mythology was put in writing and preserved."

It would rather appear that Professor Anderson had become lost in the Norseman's lore, and buried himself amid the beauties of Icelandic frostery, in the following remarkable eulogy on the Elder Edda:—

"The poems of Elder Edda show us what the myths of Greece would have been without a Homer. They remain huge, wild and fragramentary; full of strange gaps rent into their very vitals by the strokes of rude centuries; yet like the ruins of the Coliseum, or of the temple of Paestum, standing aloft amid the daylight of the present time, magnificent testimonials of the stupendous genius of the race which reared them. There is nothing beside the Bible, which sits in a divine tranquility of unapproachable nobility, like a king of kings among all other books, and the poem of Homer

itself, which can be compared in all its elements of greatness with the Edda. There is a loftiness of stature, and a firmness of muscle which the poems of the same race have never reached. The only production that can be compared with the Elder Edda in profoundness of thought is that of Shakespeare, the Hercules Thor of English literature, that heroic mind of divine lineage, which passed through the hell-gate of the Roman school-system unscathed. The obscurity which still hangs over some parts of the Elder Edda, like the dim shadows crouching on the ruins of the Past, is the result of neglect, and will in due time be removed; but amid this stand forth the boldest masses of intellectual masonry. We are astonished at the wisdom which is shaped into maxims, and at the tempestuous strength of passion, to which all modern emotions seem puny and constrained!"

One can scarcely be surprised at the enthusiasm of the author in his high admiration of the Eddas, even if they have only read the Eddas through the means of translators. They are, as he says, "the boldest masses of intellectual masonry." One is struck, however, with the boldness of his assertion, that nothing beside the Bible and the poems of Homer, can be compared in elements of greatness with the Elder Edda. We wish he had given us proof of his statement by citing illustrations. In the absence of it his broad assertion that the only production beside the two books before mentioned, worthy of comparison with the Elder Edda, is that of Shakespeare, will scarcely be admitted by the thinking world. The field of comparison seems too limited when we think of the hymns of the Rig-veda, the sublimity of thought exhibited by Menu in his account of the Creation, the poems of Milton, &c.

Perhaps the lapse of time has cast a glamour over those Icelandic poems, the grandeur of whose conception we admit; but we fear they have overwrought the judgment of Prof. Anderson or he would not venture to compare them with the master conceptions of the Greek and Hebrew poets. It is a pleasant study, surely, to unravel the old myths, reaching into the depths of the minds that produced them. Their religion reveals to us the spirit from which they emanated. Through a nation's mythology we reach the radical of their history; and by understanding the cause we can better judge of the effect. Our author probes deep when he writes: "Their religion is the soul of their history. Their religion tells us what they felt; their feelings produce their thoughts; and their thoughts were the parents of their acts."

Prof. Anderson, in closing presents these questions: "Shall we not have northern art? We have southern art (Hercules and Hebe), we have oriental art (Adam and Eve), and will not some one now complete the triology by adding Locke and Sigyn? Ay, let us have another Thorwaldsen, and let him devote himself to *northern art*. Here is a new and untrodden field for the artist. Ye Gothic poets and painters and sculptors! why stand ye here idle?"

This volume of Norse Mythology is an important acquisition to American

literature. Here we have condensed in one volume the knowledge which before we were compelled to seek in many works. It is a book showing learning and research. The volume is handsomely printed in clear, legible type and on good paper, attractively bound in cloth, and richly stamped in black and gold, and altogether does credit to the beautiful art of book-making.

BELLES-LETTRES.

Words; their Uses and Abuses. By WILLIAM MATTHEWS, LL. D. pp. 384. Chicago: S. C. Greggs & Co. 1877.

IN the volume before us Dr. Matthews has succeeded in presenting a great deal on an interesting subject in an interesting manner. The work, like the subject, has evidently been the growth of years. Indeed, the author distinctly says that it is the outcome of a lecture on Words he wrote and delivered twenty years ago. And "being much interested in the subject he continued from time to time to make notes of his thoughts and readings upon it, till at length the lecture grew into a volume." (Preface). It is in this way that any work worthy of binding and preservation matures. It is only the fungous species in literature, as in vegetation, that is the growth of a night.

So, too, in the collection of materials for his work, the author has drawn freely from all accessible sources. *Non nova, sed nové*, he admits has been his aim; presenting the thoughts of others even more than his own. We like this feature of the volume, since the quotations are mostly from the masters of thought and diction, and include their tersest expressions. He would have given better satisfaction to students and novices in literature, however, had he taken more pains to indicate the authors and books from which citations are drawn.

Unlike what one would suppose from the title, "Words, their Uses and Abuses," the work is a series of discursive essays on words and their changing significance, rather than a treatise on terms, etymology, &c. The course pursued by the author is unlike that of Dean Alford, Mr. Moon, or even of Mr. White. He does not, like the above-mentioned critics, dwell so much on the misuse and abuse of the "Queen's English," as on the derivation and

significance of words and phrases. Nor does he unfortunately confine himself to this useful field of inquiry. It would have been to the advantage of students of literature if he had. Be that as it may, his method is preëminently discursive; dipping into physics here, and philosophy there; discussing abstract science, metaphysical subtleties and ethical problems, all in the same essay. Philosophical gossip is thus mixed up with interesting disquisitions on words all through the book. The dryness of the subject is much relieved in this way it is true; but this advantage, if it be one, is secured at a fearful drain on the absolute value of the work to the student, The author has aimed evidently to make his book popular by this means; and we think he has succeeded in doing so. Many people will find it more satisfactory than the average novel of the period.

But we demur at Dr. Matthews' philosophical views. His disquisition on miracles, for example, is lacking in breadth and comprehensiveness. He speaks of miracles as disturbing or interrupting "the established order of things," "in the same way that the will of man continually breaks in upon the order of nature. There is not a day, an hour, *nor* a minute, in which man, in his contest with the material world, does not divert its course, or give a new direction to its order." (p. 218.) To say nothing about the questionable grammar of this extract, we take exception to this narrow view of nature. The absurdity of the claim that man can disturb, by any act of his, the order of nature, must be seen at once when one reflects that man is himself a part of nature, and that any act he can possibly perform is quite within the "order of nature," and never, by any possibility, outside of it. "That which perceives," very truly says Dr. Thomas Brown, "is a part of nature as truly as the objects of perception which act on it. * The scientific conception of nature comprehends the universe of things, linking matter and force into an indissoluble oneness—Monism. But in respect of miracles our author further observes:

"The miraculous character of an event is not a matter of intuition or observation, but of inference, and cannot be decided by testimony, but only by reasoning from the probabilities of the case. The testimony relates only to the *happening of the event;* the question concerning the *nature* of this event, whether it is or is not, a violation of physical law, can only be determined by the judgment after weighing all the circumstances of the case. No event whatever viewed simply as an event, can be so marvellous that sufficient testimony will not convince us that it has really occurred." (p. 219.) Now the truth is that nothing is gained by referring questions of the miraculous to the judgment and reasoning powers, "the competency of the conclusions," etc., over that of experience and testimony of Mr. Hume, which our author assails. The only test of the miraculous, it seems to us, is in separating an occurrence from its legitimate cause or antecedent. An event supposed to be a miracle, ceases to be such as soon as its legitimate ante-

* *Philosophy of the Human Mind.*

cedent is found. And we have no doubt that the alleged conversion of the water into wine on a certain memorable occasion, or the raising of the dead or the healing of the sick on divers other memorable occasions in the life and career of the divine Jesus, were effected by means quite as legitimate and natural, as that by which water is made from two impalpable gases, or signals transmitted in advance of time, between the two continents. In respect of the occurrence of miraculous events and surprising phenomena, the wise head will reserve his decision upon their *methodus medendi* until their laws and antecedents have been duly investigated. And the "experience" of mankind has proved that mystery is often like a vapor, which is dispelled by advancing light. And if the race can wait long enough we have no doubt that sufficient light will be reflected on the so-called miraculous to make them appear quite consistent with the natural and divine order of all sublunary things.

There are many other points in philosophy touched upon by Dr. Matthews to which we except; but we have space to mention but one more. He rightly accepts Cicero's definition of the word Education, but fails to see its metaphoric character. He thus falls into the error of saying, since to educate the mind is to nourish it—*educat nutrix*—that knowledge is the food of the mind:—"It is food above all things which the growing mind craves; and the mind's food is knowledge. * * * In an ideal system this (discipline, etc.,) and the *nourishing the mind* by [with] *wholesome knowledge* would proceed simultaneously. The school lesson *would feed the mind*, while the thorough, patient and conscientious acquisition of it would *gymnase* the intellect and strengthen the moral force [faculties]". (pp. 228—9.) The italics are mostly ours.

Now it is a manifest error to suppose that the mind is nourished by means which differ in anywise from those that nourish the body. Speaking literally as we ought to do on all philosophical subjects, brain and mind are one and indivisible, and they cannot be separated except by a mental effort —an abstraction. That which nourishes the one nourishes the other, namely, food—alimentary substances—bread and meat and water;—and believe us, oat-meal and coffee is better mind food than knowledge! The acquisition of knowledge sustains the same relation to the mind that swinging the sledge or the "Indian clubs," does to the body. Both are *wasting processes, actually impairing body and brain instead of nourishing either.* The nourishing processes follow on *during repose* by the absorbents taking up plastic matter from the blood. In strictly scientific terms, therefore, to *gymnase* the brain and mind is to correlate alimentary matter into brain-substance and ideas; in precisely the same manner that muscular force is correlated from such matter in the brawny arm of the blacksmith, or gymnast. This is the actual truth of the matter; and should our author or reader have any doubt on the subject, let him engage in prolonged and intense thought on an equally prolonged fast; or indulge in hard manual labor with his stomach persistently empty.

Such a test would be more conclusive to the ordinary mind than any metaphysical disquisition on the subject in the English language.

Moreover, in the old metaphysical sense of mind, to which Dr. Matthews seems to adhere, knowledge is not food for the mind—except in respect of *memory*. A very inferior mind may be a storehouse of knowledge. On the other hand, a very superior mind may be deficient in knowledge. Many a modern school boy actually knows more—possesses more knowledge—than did either Plato or Socrates, or both together. But in actual capacity to think and feel, in breadth of conception and power of analysis these men were masters without a superior. Knowledge was certainly not the pabulum that nourished *their* minds.

But these are faults of philosophy, and detract in a minor degree only from the usefulness of Dr. Matthews' really learned and excellent book. The work lacks neither learning nor erudition. It is written, too, in a style simple and clear; the author's views are illustrated by comparisons broad and apposite; and the book itself is printed in the highest style of the typographical art. We notice many defects in proof reading which certainly ought not to exist in the "Seventh Thousand;" and, moreover, some misplaced words and defects of grammar are to be found. A few of these anomalies we have indicated in the foregoing pages.

In concluding our brief notice of this fine book, we cite the following paragraph, simply for the opportunity it gives us of endorsing it:

"It is a mistake to suppose that a language is no more than a mere collection of words. The terms we employ are symbols only, which can never justly express our thought, but shadow forth far more than it is in their power distinctly to impart. Lastly, there are in every language as another has tersely said, a vast number of words, such as *sacrifice*, *sacrament*, *mystery*, *eternity*, which may be explained by the idea, though the idea cannot be discovered by the word, as is the case with whatever belongs to the mystery of the mind. And this of itself is enough to disprove the conclusion which nominalist would draw from the origin of words, and to prove that, whatever the derivation of 'truth,' (may be) its etymology can establish nothing concerning its essence; and that we are still at liberty to regard it as independent, immutable and eternal, having its archetype in the divine Mind." (p. 234.)

Harold. A Drama. By ALFRED TENNYSON. 16mo. pp. 170. Boston. James Osgood & Co. 1877.

The period embraced in this drama is of short duration. It begins just before the death of Edward the Confessor, and ends with that of Harold, the last of the Saxon kings, at the battle of Hastings, Oct. 14, 1066. The first

scene opens in an apartment of the king's palace at London. Several courtiers are gazing with consternation at a comet. Morcar is made to exclaim, showing the superstitious terror that prevailed in the eleventh century at the appearance of an unusual phonomenon in the heavens:

> " It glares in heaven, it flares upon the Thames,
> The people are as thick as bees below,
> They hum like bees—they cannot speak—for awe;
> Look to the skies, then to the river, strick
> Their hearts, and hold their babies up to it!
> I think that they would Molochize them, too,
> To have the heavens clear!"

Dire forebodings fill their minds lest some great calamity broods over England. While they are watching the comet, Harold appears, and soon after Edward; Harold is work-wan and flesh-fallen, and the king, speaking gratefully of his twelve years of service, Harold thus petitions:

> " And after these twelve years, a boon, my king,
> Respite, a holiday; thyself wast wont
> To love the chase; thy leave to set my feet
> On board, and hunt and hawk beyond the sea!
> *Edward.*—What, with this flaming horror over-head!
> *Harold.* — Well, when it passes then!"

Edward at last yields his consent with great reluctance; but bids him keep clear of Normandy. Harold embarks for Flanders, but is wrecked on the coast of Ponthiers. He falls into the hands of Grey, Count of Ponthiers, who relinquishes his prisoner to William, Duke of Normandy, on the payment of a large ransom. William takes Harold to Bayeux, and refuses to release him, save on condition that he take an oath to use all his influence in securing to William the crown of England on the death of Edward, who is failing rapidly. His struggle with his conscience in taking an oath, which he has no intention of keeping, is finely depicted. (Act II, scene 2.) If he refuse to take the oath, his young brother Wulfnoth, who was compelled to remain as hostage of his father's good faith at the Court of William, and himself, will be retained as prisoners. His presence is imperative in England;—Edward is dying; part of England in revolt; and intrigues are in progress to separate Edith (the King's ward, and his own betrothed) and himself, and immure her in a convent; and Aldwyth, the widow of the late king of Wales, plotting with her brothers to become, through the union of herself and Harold, Queen of England. Malet, a Norman noble, but loving England because of his mother's native place, tries to persuade Harold to yield and take the oath, saying:

> " Then, for my mother's sake, and England's sake,
> That suffers in daily want of thee,
> Obey the Count's command, my good friend.
> *Harold.*—How, Malet, if they be not honorable?
> *Malet.*—Seem to obey them.
> *Harold.*—Better die than lie!

Malet.—Choose, therefore, whether thou wilt have thy conscience,
White as a maiden's hand; or whether England
Be shatter'd into fragments.
Harold.—News from England?
Malet.—Morcar and Edwin have stirr'd up the Thanes
Against thy brother Tostig's governance;
And all the North of Humber is in one storm.
Harold.—I should be there, Malet, I should be there!
Malet.—And Tostig's in his own hall, on suspicion,
Hath massacred the Thane that was his guest,
Gamel, the son of Orme; and there be more
As villainously slain!
Harold.—My God, I should be there!
I'll hack my way to the sea!
Malet.—Thou canst not, Harold!
Our Duke is all between thee and the sea,
Our Duke is all about thee like a God;
All passes block'd! Obey him, speak him fair,
For he is only debonair to those
That follow where he leads; but stark as death
To those that cross him! Look, thee, here is Wulfnoth!
I leave thee to talk with him alone,
How wan, poor lad, how sick and sad for home!
Harold.—Poor brother, still a hostage!
Wulfnoth.—Yea, and I
Shall see the dewy kiss of dawn no more.
Make blush the maiden white of our tall cliffs!
Thou canst make yield this iron mooded Duke.
To let me go!
Harold.—Why, brother, so he will,
But on conditions. Canst thou guess at them?
Wulfnoth.—Draw nearer. I was in the corridor,
I saw him coming with his brother Odo,
The Bayeux bishop, and I hid myself.
And he spoke, and I heard him,
"This Harold is not of royal blood,
Can have no right to the crown," and Odo said:
"Thine is the right, for thine is the might;" he is here
And yonder is thy keep!
Harold.—No, Wulfnoth! No!
Wulfnoth.—Yea, but thou must not this way answer him!
Harold.—Is it not better still to speak the truth?
Wulfnoth.—Not here! or thou wilt never hence nor I:
For in the racing toward this golden goal
He turns not straight nor left, but tramples flat
Whatever thwarts him. . . .
For my sake, oh! brother! oh! for my sake!
Harold.—Poor Wulfnoth! do they not entreat thee well?
Wulfnoth.—I see the blackness of my dungeon loom
Across their lamps of revel, and beyond
The merriest murmurs of their banquet, clank
The shackles that bind me to the wall!
Harold.—Too fearful still!

Wulfnoth.— Oh, no, no—speak him fair!
Call it to temporize and not to lie;
Harold, I do not counsel thee to lie.
The man that has to foil a murderous aim
May, surely, play with words!
Harold.—Words are the man.
Not even for thy sake, brother, would I lie!
Wulfnoth.—Then for thine Edith!
Harold.—There thou prickst me deep!
Wulfnoth.—And for our Mother England!
Harold.—Deeper still!"

Harold at last consents, and takes the oath; but when he sets out for home, and not perceiving his brother, he asks William the reason, and receives answer that:

"Wulfnoth is sick, and cannot follow.
We have learned to love him, let him a little longer
Remain as hostage for the loyalty of Goodwin's house."

The king on his death-bed names Harold as his successor, and he is crowned. William invades England, conquers it, and Harold is killed. To avert the curse that rested on him if he married Edith, and to please the people, Harold made Aldwyth his Queen. Edith finding his remains on the battle field, becomes crazed, declares herself his wife, falls upon his corpse, and dies.

The author makes some happy thrusts at many realisms applicable even to the present time, such as Stigands remark:

"For in this windy world of ours,
What's up is faith, and what's down is heresy."

The dialogues are also interpolated with forcible comparisons, as when describing the fluctuating star in the comet:

"Like you, there's a star
That dances as mad with agony.
Ay like a spirit in hell, who skips and flies
To right and left, and cannot scape the flame;"

and abound in apt comments. The character of the wily Tostig is well drawn by Leofwin in a few terse sentences:

"He has as much of cat as tiger in him,
Our Tostig loves the hand, but not the man."

And again:

"Tostig! sister, galls himself!
He cannot smell a rose, but pricks his nose
Against a thorn, and rails against the rose."

The drama is wanting in strong dramatic power, although there is often richness and felicity of expression in it. It will be widely read and widely praised—of course—if for no other reason, because the poet-laureate wrote

it. Were it published without a name we can imagine it would fall flat on the public taste, and a second edition be long delayed.

Book of Poems. By JOHN W. CHADWICK. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1876.

LYRIC and dramatic poetry is the popular poetry of the present moment, and meditative verse is not clear to the average reader. But here and there a poet arises whose verse is sweet and singing, and sufficiently in sympathy with the common thoughts and feelings of humanity to win recognition. Perhaps the pastorate of a church is a good and wise preparation for the expression of experience in song, at once enlarging the sphere and vision of life, kindling the sympathy and making vivid, ideal dreams of excellence, and thus broadening and intensifying the insight and the personality of the poet's song. As a rule, this peculiar pastoral training expends itself in every day life in ministering to the need of the poor and distressed of the congregation; but if there be mental activity, poetic fancy, and time and strength to spare to work out in verse, the verse will surely be the product of a true, busy, serious life, and possibly please a sincere and thoughtful audience.

"A Book of Poems," by John W. Chadwick, is a book of meditative verse; not restricted to the sights of the inner eye alone, but teeming with the joy and beauty of nature most delicately and felicitously described, and linked with the inner experience of the soul. The first division, "Poems of Nature," are also poems of personal experience. The first four in the book, "My Barnacles," "Whitsuntide," "By the Seashore," and "Nirvana," are types of this division, and sweet, melodious poems, which show keen perception of beauty, an intense love of nature, and a loving consciousness of her mother gifts of refreshment, stimulus and healing for the human spirit. Perhaps, "By the Seashore," is the smoothest verse in the book, and a lovely sea-picture it is.

In the second division, "Poems of Life," the same notes are struck, but an additional note added, which makes the chords richer. The author still feels the beauty and glory of nature; still, he interprets her by his own soul, borrowing the experience of others and wraps it round with his own communings and glorifies it with tender imaginings and loving sympathies. These poems will be appreciated by all those who have loved and suffered, and who has not! The thoughts are those which are familiar to our best moods, but which are often left dumb in the soul. To find them nobly and truly expressed is to obtain a profound joy and relief. The struggle for

expression is often exhausting and baffling, and to read one's own thoughts in the well chosen words of another is a great delight, as one recognizes unexpectedly an old friend, fresh and bright with health, and clad in lovely apparel.

These two divisions surpass the third, in force and variety, as if the fingers of the musician had tried to grasp another note, yet of a larger chord, and had failed to reach it, and thereby blurred the elder notes.

In reading modern religious verse, the thought sometimes arises, that the old power and spirituality of the Catholic hymns, spring out of the seclusion of the monkish life. Isolation from life's affairs and people may serve to concentrate the whole passion of the soul on invisible things. Be that as it may, their hymns as a whole have never been equalled, although many have been written on a greater variety of topics and sentiments.

Perhaps Mr. Chadwick will yet achieve that triumph.

While so much may be said, from a poet's point of view, commendatory of Mr. Chadwick's verses, we cannot but feel that the hour demands a higher consecration on the part of servants and disciples of Christ than indulgence in song and versification. The exercise of a reverent, trusting faith, a hopeful, cheerful disposition, and sweet, tender sentiments, is all very well; but when nine-tenths of mankind are under the wheel and in want of the necessities of a healthful, rational existence, the occasion calls for strong speech and vigorous action, especially from those who were commanded to visit the sick, feed the hungry and clothe the naked.

In the Levant. By CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER, 12mo. pp. 374. Boston: James R. Osgood & Co. 1877.

We have before us a continuation of the account of Mr. Warner's travels through the East. He carried us in his first volume, *Mummies and Moslems*, over the land of the Pharaohs, along the sacred river, and past the gigantic pyramids, looking, as says Chataubriand in *Les Martyrs*, "like the mourning portals of Egypt, or rather like some triumphal monument reared to Death to commemorate its victories. Pharaoh is there with all his people, and their sepulchres are around him." We lost our pleasant and instructive companion for a time, however, but he has again taken us up, and we travel with him over the well-trodden highways and bypaths of the Orient. The tediousness of the despicable roads is much relieved by his breezy chats about the peculiar characteristics of the various peoples, scenery, &c.;

showing his love of nature and the beautiful in his many allusions to mother earth's fairest gifts to man—flowers.

Landing at Joppa, we are led through that ancient city to Jerusalem and its environs; visiting all the principal points of interest, except Bethel, Shechem, Samaria, Nazareth, and the Sea of Galilee; touching upon all the places made sacred to the Christian by their association with the Divine Tragedy, and lingering amid the spots which the heroes and sages of Biblical literature have rendered forever memorable.

Mr. Warner's graphic pen causes a shadowy phantasmagorian vision of the ancient traditions to rise before us from the almost forgotten centuries, and we hold sweet converse in the dim shadows with the ancient master spirits, silent, but not dead:

> "And ever something is, or seems,
> That touches us with mystic gleams,
> Like glimpses of forgotten dreams."

Returning to Joppa, we take the ship for Beyrout, Damascus, Baalbec, Constantinople, and then sail along the Greek coast.

He enlivens the sameness of the way, which so many have explored before him, by his racy and pertinent remarks on the impositions practised by the natives on the credulous and unsophisticated pilgrims; and also by giving us an interesting insight of the manner in which Turkish justice is administered; how the aggressed is punished instead of the aggressor.

The blindfolded figure of justice does not exist as a mere symbol alone under Turkish dominion; her scales perform rather strange freaks sometimes in better regulated countries.

We miss, however, a certain enthusiasm in Mr. Warner's descriptions. His word-pictures are forcible, and correct in every detail; but they lack a certain warmth of color; they fail to enlist the sympathies or to carry our imagination captive to the scenes he depicts; we feel as though we were looking at some grand picture, faithfully delineated, but merely the representation, instead of being brought in contact with the reality itself.

As we finish the last page and close the volume, we seem to catch the faint echo of the retreating centuries, with their philosophers, statemen, orators, sculptors, and heroes, slumbering in the dim past, and only the memory of their lives left to the following generations. It is thus that time ravages all things:

> "Time buries graves. How strange, a buried grave!
> Death cannot from more death his own empire save."

The work is printed on inferior paper and cheaply bound, defects unusual in books published by Messrs. Osgood & Co.

Corinne ; A Story of Italy. By Mme DE STAËL. Translated by MISS L. E. LANDON. 8vo. pp. 172. Philadelphia : T. B. Peterson & Brothers. 1877.

AMONG the few works of fiction that live and increase the posthumous lustre of the name of their writers stands preëminent this work of Mme de Staël. The readers of the *Review* will surely not expect us to set before them the well-known character of *Corinne*. Its pages have already borne testimony to its merit, amply illustrated with copious citations from the original. This edition of the Messrs. Peterson, however, purports to be a new translation, in which many errors and imperfections of the previous translations have been carefully avoided. So far as we can judge without critically examining its pages, we believe its claim to superiority over other translations to be well-founded. The Messrs. Peterson have done a service to English readers of light literature, in placing so good and cheap an edition of a celebrated work before the American public.

Whitefriars ; or the Days and Times of Charles the Second. By the author of ——— &c. Philadelphia : T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

THERE is a class of books and periodicals written in the interest of authors and publishers rather than that of readers. The "Whitefriars" belongs to that category. We do not say that books of this sort are devoid of a certain kind of interest to the reader. They do certainly enchain the attention of a large class of readers, who read to kill time and for amusement, and who, perhaps, would otherwise waste their leisure in worse pursuits than reading fiction with an admixture of historic fact. One cannot, however, but feel some degree of commiseration for the individual who cannot find in real history sufficient to interest him without having it dressed up in a fiction of plots and adventures. It is like administering homœopathic pellets in molasses or apple-sauce. The vehicle is worse tasting than the medicine ; and he who should indulge in such a folly would be put down as ridiculous or weak-minded, or both. It is to be regretted that there are so many people who make so poor a use of their ability to read and write as to write and read books of this kind. We cannot but feel that all concerned—writer, reader and publisher—could make better use of their time, money and talents. While this is an honest sentiment in respect of this book, we rate it the equal in literary merit of Miss Mülbach historical series, if not that of Alexandre Dumas.

SCIENCE.

Archology; or the Science of Government. By S. V. BLAKESLEE. 12mo., pp. 164. New York and San Francisco: A. Roman & Co. 1876.

THIS modest little volume is an attempt, as its name implies, to define the science of goverment, or to reduce the science of civil control to precise terms and limitations. Notwithstanding the works of Paley, Combe, Spurzheim, Wayland and Dr. M'Cosh, on moral science we sympathize with the author when he says that, "in the all important science of government, bearing directly upon the welfare of nations, and affecting the interest of every intelligent (or otherwise) being, this failure of a scientific treatment has been most remarkable"—preface.

Archology should be taught in the primary schools and form a part of every child's education; and the little work before us could be used with advantage in such schools as a text book. It is concise, free from redundancies or unnecessary verbiage, nicely printed and substantially bound. One oversight may be noted: We have looked through its pages in vain to find any acknowledgment of the labors of Dr. Spurzheim, or reference to his work on a similar subject—"The Natural Laws of Man."

Silver and Gold, and their Relation to the Problem of Resumption. By S. DANA HORTON. 8vo., pp. 176. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke, Jr. 1877.

THIS book is an examination of the relative merits of the single and double standards of money, and is an able presentation of the superiority of the double standard of silver and gold in a comparative ratio by the consentaneous action of nations, over the single standard of gold, as shown from the commercial and metallurgical points of view. The writer exhibits some acquaintance with the science of political economy, but not enough to prevent the disclosure of some errors. These, however, are not sufficiently important to impair the practical value of his book, which is really an important contribution to the subject, and particularly apropos in the present agitated condition of the legislative and commercial mind. He states (p. 144) what is quite true, that if the nation agree upon a certain legal ratio between gold and silver the market value of the metals as merchandise will consequently conform to the legal value of the metals as money.

There is, perhaps, a lack of perspicuity in parts of the book. For in-

stance: "To-day, in a world encompassed by telegraph-wires, railroads and steamship lines, the solidarity of the money market has not done away with local and international values, the averages of prices, the general value of money follows in every country their own laws." We apprehend that the average reader would have some difficulty in understanding the meaning of this passage. As it appears to us it is not correct, because it is a maxim in political economy that the average of metallic prices throughout the world is controlled by the laws of international trade, and not by the local laws of any country.

The work is cheaply and neatly gotten up and does credit to its publishers. The author exhibits extensive research and intelligent use of the materials at hand. The subject is treated meritoriously and timely; and we hope the volume will be widely read, to the end that proper legislation on the subject may be sustained by an educated public opinion.

Liver Complaint, Dyspepsia and Headache. By M. L. HOLBROOK, M. D. pp. 141. New York. M. L. Holbrook & Co. 1876.

THIS little volume is full of common-sense suggestions on common-place subjects, intended for the people rather than for the profession. But if we mistake not, the profession generally would be profited by their perusal. The author believes "the time will come when it will be a greater disgrace to have headache, dyspepsia and liver complaint than to violate all the rules of grammar in composition [writing] and speech." It is well to encourage that hope; but the day when such a rational view of health shall come is evidently far away.

The author rates a good diet as the most important auxiliary of health—nay, he rates it higher than that: "Good diet is an essential part of a good education." And we entirely agree with him in that view, and wish our boarding schools, physicians, and mankind generally, could be brought to appreciate its full significance.

Those unfortunate members of the race who are weary of the daily round of dosing and the heavy draft on their time and purses which it imposes, will find in Dr. Holbrook's book many profitable and judicious suggestions; and the rest of the race—the fortunate few—who have no need of dosing or doctors, will find the little book by no means beneath their notice.

The Worship of Bacchus a great Delusion. London: James Clark & Co. 1876.

THIS little *brochure* is devoted to the cause of temperance, and is the most forcible presentation of facts, figures and arguments in support of that cause that we have had the pleasure to meet with. It begins by showing the extravagance of the use of fermented and alcoholic beverages; illustrating the nature and properties of alcohol and beer, and exhibiting the chemical combinations and transformations that take place in their manufacture, with drawings, diagrams, figures, &c., so as to present the subject in its entirety, and fix it indelibly in the mind of the reader.

The author begins the book by quoting the opinions of many eminent physicians of the past, relative to the chemical properties of wine, etc., and among them the terse statement of Abernithy, that "wine is neither food nor drink, but a stimulant." We think he has weakened his book by doing so rather than added any degree of force to it. They are views founded upon an incomplete or imperfect understanding of the constitution of any alimentary substance whatever, and are in nowise necessary to his argument. The more recent developments in chemistry and physiology prove pretty conclusively that alcohol and its allied substances *may* act as an aliment—nay, *is* sometimes an aliment, and as such capable of sustaining and supporting life. We think it would have been wiser for the author to have admitted this truth at once, and then to proceed as he has so ably done, to point out the fearful cost of such food; and not only that, but the extremely rare cases when it is a proper food; those being chiefly certain abnormal conditions of the system to be determined by the physician and by nobody else. Truth gains nothing by being maintained by a lie. Besides, it is not a bantling that needs false props.

We shall be glad to do all we can to give currency to this admirable little volume. Charitably disposed people with means to invest in good works could do a good service to the community by generously distributing it to the multitude of unwise and ignorant people that make use of, and abuse so largely the worship of Bacchus.

THEOLOGY.

The Faith of our Fathers: being a plain Exposition and Vindication of the Church founded by our Lord Jesus Christ. By Rt. Rev. JAMES GIBBON, D. D. *Bishop of Richmond and Administrator Apostolic of North Carolina.* 16mo., pp. 438. Baltimore: John Murphy & Co. 1877.

"THE object of this little volume," says the author in his preface, "is to present, in a plain and practical form, an exposition and a vindication of the principal tenets of the Catholic Church." And whatever differences of opinion may exist relative to the work as a vindication of the Catholic Church, there can be none in respect of the exposition of its tenets; for the reverend bishop has given a very clear, lucid and intelligible *résumé* of Roman Catholic doctrines and belief, symbols, forms of worship, etc., which no one can read without profit to one's self and increased respect for the Church of which it is an exponent.

The book is written apparently more for non-believers and protestants than for Catholics. The latter have less need of it than the former. The author does not exaggerate the moral situation by any means, when he declares, that:

> "In a large portion of the press, and in pamphlets, and especially in the pulpit, which should be consecrated to truth and charity, she is the victim of the foulest slanders."

Could the work before us be so widely read as it deserves to be, it could not fail to do away with much prejudice against the Church, and ignorant partisan misrepresentations of its methods and aims. The author addresses his non-believing readers in the introductory chapter to his book, in the following earnest manner:

> "I have imbibed her doctrine (the Church) with my mother's milk. I have made her history and theology the study of my life. What motive can I have in misleading you? Not temporal reward, since I seek not your money, but your soul, for which Jesus Christ died. I could not hope for an eternal reward by deceiving you, for I would thereby purchase for myself eternal condemnation by gaining proselytes at the expense of truth."

No one who has engaged in the warfare of opinions and the clash of antagonistic ideas, can be blind to the fact that much of the antagonism between people of different philosophical, political, medical and religious belief, is directly due to mutual misunderstandings, not only of each other's terms, but of each other's aims and purposes. The demagogue in politics and the bigot in science and religion are chiefly concerned in perpetuating these misunderstandings, concealing the fact that the shield has two sides, and fanning thereby the partisan heat into an angry flame. And we are confident that if people of diverse and antagonistic persuasions would charitably, and in a judicious spirit, examine each other's premises, and compare definitions of the terms they employ, much of their differences and

most of their rancorous spirit would thereby be readily composed. The book before us cannot but exert a powerful influence in this direction for good. We bid it God-speed. Its doctrines may be never so fallacious, but they are infinitely preferable to prejudice. The race can survive a fallacy, while it would die of a prejudice.

The American Catholic Quarterly Review. Vol. II., No. 5. *January*, 1877.

Were we to notice all the *Review* literature that comes to hand during the quarter, we should have no space in our pages for anything else. We must limit ourselves, therefore, to occasional notices of *Reviews*, and even then to those most note-worthy.

The American Catholic Quarterly Review, now in its second year, is one of the ablest Quarterlies in the language. This last number of it is exceptionally good and does credit to American scholarship. It is devoted, as its name implies, to the interests of the Roman Catholic Church The subjects discussed by it are both scholastic and practical; its point of view consistently Roman Catholic and theological throughout.

We do not propose to criticise our able and scholarly contemporary. While we respect it and its cause, our premises are too wide a part for profitable criticism. It seems to us, however, that as professedly Christian in its faith and feeling, it could consistently exercise a broader charity toward a very sincere and honest class of people from whom it differs and whom it persistently calls "Infidel." It is better to use terms in their modern signification;—in their liberalistic signification, if we may be allowed the expression; for words are subject to modification under the law of evolution like everything else. He only is an *infidel* who violates his troth, or is unfaithful to his trusts and convictions. Indeed this was its original meaning. The application of the term to honest folks has been the opprobrium of the Christian brotherhood from time immemorial.

So, likewise, it is an error to stigmatize secular schools as "Godless," which our learned contemporary repeatedly does in its article on "The Liberalistic Views of the Public School Question." Now, while we sympathize with the Roman Catholics in their just cause for complaint in respect of the conduct of the Public Schools, we take great comfort in the belief

that the God of the universe is no respecter of persons, nationalities, or of systems, philosophic or religious. And it is scarcely becoming a few score of individuals, or a few score millions of individuals, to arrogate to themselves an exclusive title to the divine favor. Are we not all—Pagan, Catholic, Jews and Protestants—children of the same Father, and equally objects of His paternal solicitude? It seems to us that our brethren, both Catholic and Protestant, too frequently confound false opinions with evil practices, faith with belief, and theology with religion—things widely different and by no means comparable.

MUSIC.

1. *David Chantant devant Saül.* Solo for Baritone or Bass. With an English version by DR. W. J. WETMORE. Music by L. BORDÉSE.
2. *Lift your Glad Voices in Triumph on High.* Quartet with Soprano, Alto, Tenor and Solo. Easter Hymn. By H. P. DANKS.
3. *Come See the Place Where Jesus Lay.* Solo, Duet and Quartet. Easter Hymn. By H. P. DANKS.
4. *O! Lovely Naples.* (Napoli.) By F. CAMPANA. English version by W. J. WETMORE.
5. *Rose and Tears.* (Rosa e Pianto.) Mezzo Soprano. By LUCIANO ALBITES.
6. *Angel of Midnight.* (Morceau de Salon.) By CHARLES DE FREES.
7. *From the Empire of Music.* (Waltzes.) (Aus dem Reiche der Töne.) By CARL FAUST.
8. *Sweets of Life Polka.* By E. W. LUCHE.
9. *Symphony in C Minor.* Voluntary for the Organ, arranged from Haydn, by JAS. J. FREEMAN. New York: S. T. Gordon & Son.

ALL of these pieces of music are characterized by simplicity, and many of them are as pretty and melodious as they are simple. The Easter hymns by Mr. Danks are of an order superior to that composer's usual productions, and must add considerably to his musical repute.

Mr. Albites' mezzo soprano, *Rose and Tears*, ought to be popular. It is a good song of the Italian style, with a pleasing melody, well-adapted for parlor or concert use. We like, also, Mr. Frees' *Angel of Midnight*, It is a piece of medium grade and well-suited to the range of moderate players. Of the others we cannot say so much, except of the waltzes of Herr Faust, "*Aus dem Reiche der Töne.*" These have certainly a very pretty movement and must win their way to numerous parlors.

APPENDIX.

1. *Record of Life-Insurance Litigations.*

2. *Reports of Receivers of defunct Companies.*

3. *Circulars of Presidents and Puffs of Underwriters, &c.*

THE evil seeds to which we have so often called attention in the management of so many life-insurance companies, are now bearing the fruit which we have so long foreseen. The failure of the Continental and the proceedings against the United States were still occupying the public mind when the catastrophe of the Security came upon us like a thunder-clap—not, however, in a clear sky—and this was followed almost immediately by the collapse of the New Jersey Mutual, which but a short time previously had appeared in the rôle of a re-insurer of some of these defunct companies. Among all these ruins the National Capitol Life raises its unblushing front, in the character of general amalgamationist; professing to hold the assets of the New Jersay Mutual—for whose benefit may well be questioned. And now, finally, we see the North America made the subject of proceedings which may very possibly end in its dissolution; and the Guardian and Universal restrained by injunction from an amalgamation with the last named company, which had practically taken effect more than a year ago. When we inquire the cause of these numerous disasters, we are met with the convenient answer—depreciation of real estate. How much truth there is in this alleged reason becomes manifest when we inspect the returns of these companies and find how very small a proportion of their nominal assets was covered by this item; in some instances the real estate owned by the company consisting solely of the building in which its business was transacted, and the value of that building, as alleged in the report, not unfrequently exceeding its cost price, and in one instance avowedly reached by the device of "capitalizing the rents." In other words the rents received were in the first instance returned as so much income, and also as capital under the head of "cash in bank:" the "rents due and accrued" were returned as a separate asset; and in addition the gross value of the rents was estimated as a definite sum and added to the cost value of the building and utilized to increase the real estate returned. Thus we find one single item, and that not the most important, doing not only double but triple work in the estimation of the assets.

The real trouble with all these defunct companies has been owing to

three causes which we have already been at some pains to point out, to wit: *firstly*, the manipulation of the assets of the companies so as to present practically untrue returns; *secondly*, the character of the assets in which the funds of these companies were invested; and *thirdly*, the practice of amalgamation which has become so common as to call for especial notice. Of the first of these causes it is unnecessary to speak at present. It is enough that the officials of some of the defunct companies are now under indictment for perjury on account of these very returns; that in the case of others, proceedings have been instituted to recover securities claimed to be the assets of the companies which have been improperly diverted and placed in the name of individual officers, and that the presidents of two companies and the actuary of a third are said to have departed for parts unknown. Of the second we have also spoken sufficiently at large. At present it is sufficient commentary on our former remarks that in the case of one, at least, of the defunct companies, the mass of the assets were in the shape of "premium notes and loans on policies in force." On examining the returns of these companies made a year ago, it will be seen that of the gross assets of the Continental 31.1 per cent. consisted of this dangerous item, for we will not call it investment; of the Security 44.6 per cent., and of the New Jersey Mutual 24.4 per cent. It is true that a recent decision has established the law to be that in *mutual* insurance companies the parties signing the premium notes are liable for the full amount without deduction or offset for their policies; but this was evidently not the intention of the companies in the first instance, and does not render the investment any safer as regards the non-mutual companies, nor, indeed, is it a much greater security in the mutual, when we consider that these notes are at the very best a mere personal security entirely contingent on the pecuniary responsibility of the signer; when we look at these figures and consider the present status of the companies, what are we to think of the fact that in the Continental of Hartford the proportion of these assets at the same period was 84.4; in the Knickerbocker, 39.5 and in the Universal, 28.3?

The real value of various other classes of assets, as compared with the figures which they present on the Company's returns, will appear from the report of the receiver of the Continental. There appear to have been $77,968.90 in various banks which have failed and are worthless. These deposits were secured by collaterals of the nominal value of $201,600.00, but of which the receiver states that he doubts whether altogether are worth $25,000.00. There are $40,825.01 in "bills receivable" which the receiver

pronounces *doubtful;* and as much as $1,000,940.15 in "agents' open accounts," of which the receiver states:

"I have failed to discover any satisfactory explanation of these accounts. They consist of claims against a large number of persons who have from time to time been employed as agents of the Company, some of whom were agents when I was appointed. Whether the parties really owe the company the amount charged against them or not, I am unable to ascertain. I fear the item will on further investigation turn out to be nearly worthless."

Among the returned assets is a claim of $250,000.00 against the Empire Mutual Life which was some years after re-insured in the Continental. The Empire has retired from business and has no assets to meet this claim.

This is the real condition according to the report of a Receiver of its own selection, of a company which, a year ago, returned an annual statement showing an apparent surplus of $650,000.00!

But the main feature to which at present we wish to call our reader's attention is the practice of amalgamation, which has been carried to such lengths as to become a more powerful engine for fraud than any which we have hitherto mentioned. When the Continental began by re-insuring the Empire Mutual it acquired claims against that company amounting to $250,000.00 which there are to-day no assets to represent. When the Continental was threatened with dissolution it re-insured in the New Jersey Mutual and transferred to that Company $314,900.00 of its securities. This last Company, through its president, was at that time publicly boasting of its excellent pecuniary condition; but little more than a month has passed ere we find the New Jersey itself passing into the hands of a receiver; and we then learn that of the policies of this Company a portion are to be carried into the United States Life, of whose troubles we had occasion to speak in our last number; but the bulk both of the policies and the assets have passed into the maw of the insatiable National Capitol Life, of Washington, whose president is said to have made the defiant remark, "I have the assets and no one can touch them."

If we can believe the allegations made in some of the suits brought against these various companies there was no little fraud connected with a number of these transfers. It is alleged that $315,000.00 in securities had been transferred by the Continental to the New Jersey in consideration of the re-insurance of certain policies. We have at present before us a circular issued by the president of the New Jersey Mutual, dated December 6, 1876, in which he announces that:

"Any statement that this company is interested in any manner in the

Continental Life, or in the stock of the Continental Life, or is endeavoring to save anything for the stockholders of that company, is false."

And yet of this $315,000.00 in securities only about $102,000.00 appear to have been recovered back by the Receiver of the Continental.

It is refreshing to inspect, in the light of the present condition of the New Jersey Mutual, some of the other statements of this precious circular issued little more than a month before its failure. For instance:

"The pecuniary condition of this company is excellent, its assets first class, and its surplus large. The company is rapidly increasing its business in a legitimate way, issuing over five thousand new policies annually.

"We expect to increase our business, to increase our assets, to increase our income, to increase our surplus, *and in doing this, to protect many unfortunate policy-holders.*"

It will be difficult to believe that Mr. Stedwell was not well aware of the condition of the company at the time he issued this circular. If he were not, his ignorance on such a subject would be hardly less culpable than deliberate falsification. But notwithstanding this defiant circular, the opening of the present year saw the New Jersey Mutual in the hands of a receiver, and a deficiency in its assets of $421,500.00, and the bulk of its securities in the hands of the National Capitol Life. It is alleged in one of the actions brought by policy-holders in the New Jersey Mutual, that its ex-president is now a fugitive from justice; that the National Capitol's assets, to which the bulk of the New Jersey Mutual's assets are alleged to have been transferred, if it be charged with all outstanding risks, are not sufficient to pay its liabilities, and that it has no adequate responsibility to re-insure the New Jersey Mutual, and that the transfer was made in order to defeat legal proceedings against that company.

These facts, if established, are enough to show the workings of the practice of amalgamation, which, from the facts elicited from these proceedings, appear to imply merely that one company, when it gets into difficulties, insures its policy-holders in another, perhaps equally unreliable, as an excuse for transferring its securities to that company and placing them beyond the reach of the injured policy-holders. We are induced to dwell particularly on this pernicious practice from an article, which we have seen in the *Baltimore Underwriter*, (by whom written, we can only conjecture,) which, after dwelling on the recent disclosures in the matters of the Continental, the Security and the New Jersey Mutual, proceeds to advise the re-insurance *en bloc* of all the policies in each of the defaulting companies, in some life company, with the right of the policy-holder to continue his

insurance by paying the premium at his present age, (which, of course, means an *increased* premium) upon his *reduced* policy. The company recommended by this *disinterested* (?) article is the Universal Life! The peculiar merits of the Universal Life appear from this article to be embodied in the allegations that by its means the moribund Guardian Mutual and the Widows and Orphans were rescued from impending bankruptcy, the North America had vitality injected into it, and energy and safety were imparted to the Charter Oak. A more fitting commentary on all these allegations could nowhere be found than in the proceedings recently commenced in the Supreme Court for the appointment of a receiver for the North America, and to set aside the amalgamation of the Guardian Mutual with the Universal, and for an injunction restraining the last named two companies from amalgamating with the former. The history of these companies is sufficiently complicated. Two of them are doing business at the same place; the North America under the presidency of Mr. Furber, who is also connected with the Charter Oak, and is vice-president of the Universal. Prior to the fall of 1874, when Mr. Furber took charge of the North America, that company had re-insured the Government Security and the Standard Life, while the Guardian Mutual had re-insured the Widows and Orphans, the Reserve Mutual and the New York State Life. Both the North America and the Guardian Mutual are at present practically absorbed into the Universal. According to the allegations of the complaint in this action, the business of the North America was prosperous until the Universal undertook to control its affairs, induce its policy-holders to surrender their policies and take new policies in the Universal, and generally to absorb the business, profits and advantages of the North America. The Universal accordingly, it is alleged, by various influences procured the resignation of many of the officers of the North America, so as to make room for the election of persons who were connected with or in the interests of the Universal, so that a number of the directors of the Universal became directors of the North America and constituted a majority of that Board so as to control its action in the interests of the Universal. It is then stated (for it must be remembered that we have as yet only one side of the story) that agents were sent out to depreciate the credit of the North America, to represent it to its policy-holders as unsafe and insolvent, thus creating a panic among them and causing them to allow their policies to lapse, to be surrendered, or sold to the Universal or to persons acting in its behalf; it being arranged that the reserve on such policies should not be liberated to the use of the North America, but turned over. By these representations,

and by offering small sums for policies for the purpose of substituting the Universal's policies in their place, a panic was created and thousands of policy-holders induced to cease paying premiums, when the policies and the reserve thereunder would be declared forfeited, and the reserve only restored when the policy was re-insured in the Universal. Other policies were surrendered by the policy-holders or sold at about thirty per cent. of the reserve thereon. These policies were kept alive until they were re-insured in the Universal, or until the whole of the reserve upon them was withdrawn or appropriated by the North America in the purchase and cancellation thereof. By these means over two millions of dollars were withdrawn' from the North America during the year 1875, and its income so reduced as in two successive years to fall far short of its expenditures.

The complaint in this action (the action of Belknap against the North America Life and others) proceeds to state that the business of the North America is being rapidly wrecked; that the Universal has received and is enjoying the benefit of the greater part of its funds; has absorbed and misappropriated nearly the whole of its business and good-will, and is really conducting what business it has left; receiving and paying out all its income, and keeping up at its expense a grossly extravagant corps of officers whose services are really rendered almost wholly for the Universal. It also alleges that the Universal, by re-insurance or other contract with the Guardian Mutual, has obtained large sums of money or property, and has so mingled the money of the Guardian with that of the North America and its own that it will be impossible to trace it without an accounting among each of the three companies. These are not the worst accusations brought against the joint management of these companies. It is charged that the North America has loaned its money on illegal investments, and bought real estate which it had no right to do; that its officers have extorted from borrowers of money commissions on unjust and usurious terms; that it has permitted its officers to be interested in the purchase and disposition of its policies, and that a conspiracy is on foot among the companies to place the North America in the hands of a receiver of their own selection, and to withdraw nearly half a million of its reserve.

Justice requires us to state that the president of the North America, who is also the vice-president of the Universal, positively denies the truth of all these allegations and declares that the North America is perfectly solvent, if a fair valuation of its real estate was made. It may be so, although in the sworn statement of the company made a year ago, the surplus was returned at $103,193.18; while of its assets, $6,066.23 was a loan on collateral

only claimed to be of the exact value of the loan ; $46,601.90 " cash in office of company and in bank ;" $550,284.19 " premium notes and loans ;" $54,721.14 " interest accrued," and $92,684.87 " unpaid premiums." These unsubstantial items, it will be found on computation, amount to *seven* times the surplus returned ! The remainder of the assets consists chiefly of real estate and loans on real estate. It is alleged that a great portion of this wore originally the shape of a building loan on property much of which remained in an unfinished condition, and became eventually a new burden on the company. Its expenditures during the year preceding had, as we have already stated, exceeded its income by nearly two millions of dollars. Of the Universal we may add that while its surplus in that year was returned at $569,789.86, its " premium notes and loans " amounted to $1,269,503.84, or more than twice the amount.

Of course, in the present position of affairs and with the information now before us, we can say nothing more than that the Universal stands charged with one of the most enormous wrecking schemes that have ever disgraced a business community. Of the justice of the charges we can as yet of course express no opinion ; but we may say that the facts charged against the Universal, and the facts actually known of the National Capitol, the New Jersey and the Continental, are sufficient to impress upon all, the peculiar dangers of this system of amalgamation, which, as frequently practised, is nothing more than an engine for placing beyond the reach of the injured policy-holders the reserve fund and assets on which they depend for protection.

In the light of recent events we may well look with alarm on a bill which has lately been introduced the Senate of the State of New York, providing in effect that no suits against life-insurance companies by stockholders or policy-holders shall be instituted except through the Attorney General of the State, and directing that all such actions now pending shall be changed to the control of the Attorney General, and that *all such actions, moreover, shall be under his exclusive control.* We can regard this only as a deliberate attempt to take from stockholders and policy-holders the means of obtaining justice by their own exertions, and to place the whole power of representing their interests in the hands of one man, thus subjecting the whole interests of thousands of policy-holders to the chances of one man's integrity and competency. Should the Attorney General happen at any time to be a corrupt man—and it is frightful to think of the temptations to corruption to which he would be exposed from companies controlling millions and ready to spend any amount for their protection—the thousands of widows

and orphans whom these policies represent would be absolutely without resource. But even if the Attorney General were a man of judgment and integrity—who shall compute the delays which would become inevitable in the prosecution of each suit, when all had to be under the conduct of a single individual? The delays of the old Court of Chancery would be surpassed—insurance suits would descend from generation to generation, unless indeed the money involved were previously exhausted in litigation—and an action against an insurance company would become as proverbial for the waste of time and money as was the suit of Jarndyce and Jarndyce. We call upon all persons interested in the principles of life insurance to oppose the passage of this iniquitous bill. What insurance companies have been instrumental in its preparation and presentation, and what influences they may bring to bear upon its passage, we will not pretend to say. We doubt not that they will leave no stone unturned to insure its success; but there is one warning which they will do well to take to heart: The ultimate sufferers by the passage of such a bill will be the insurance companies themselves; for its existence will suffice to deter all persons from insuring their lives. Already sufficiently alarmed by the repeated failures, the fraudulent transfers, vexatious litigations and disheartening revelations, which have succeeded one another like the strokes of a mill-wheel, they will require but this last step to render their distrust of insurance companies complete. Existing policies will be allowed to lapse, and new ones will cease to be taken; and the practice of life-insurance will become, so far at least as the State of New York is concerned, a thing of the remote past. It is needless to say that the *National Quarterly Review* would do all in its power to hasten that result. For the present we must content ourselves with keeping a sharp look-out for all those disreputable proceedings, collate facts and figures, and prepare for such an exposé of insurance quackery as shall make the guilty companies tremble and the honest companies to stand the better before an enlightened public.

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CHEEVER, HENRY R., Boston, Mass.,	Modern Italian Literature.
DANA, ALEX. H., New York,	Philosophy of Population: Popular Illusions.
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